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Questions will be answered, and advice will be given, as far as may be possible, upon all points relating to the subjects with which THE ANCESTOR is concerned.

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THE EDITOR OF THE ANCESTOR
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Sir Richard Knightley, D. 1615

THE KNIGHTLEYS OF FAWSLEY

I

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE was once a nest of ancient families, but time and change have done their work and not a score of those now established in the county can show an unbroken possession of seat and land from a date which shall be the further side of the long reign of George III. No line remains to represent the great feudal houses of the middle ages, although a cadet branch of the ancient house of Wake is still found amongst Northamptonshire landowners. The Palmers of Carlton and Ishams of Lamport show authentic pedigrees from medieval gentry, and the Spencers of Althorp and Thorntons of Brockhall are of families which rose in the Tudor upheaval.

Knightley of Fawsley is still at home in the ancient hall of Fawsley, where this house of squires and knights has been seated since the estate was acquired in the reign of Henry V., the year before Agincourt fight. Again and again the direct line has failed, but a cousin of a younger line has never been wanting to carry on the succession at Fawsley, a house which such changes have swept clean of all heirlooms beyond certain family portraits. A baronetcy came in 1798 and a peerage in 1892, which however endured but three years, whilst the baronetcy survives.

A flawless pedigree of such length would set its owners amongst the oldest landed houses in England, but the claims of the family of Knightley to long descent are not limited by the purchase of Fawsley. Richard Knightley of Gnosall in Staffordshire, the purchaser of Fawsley, was no new man, being of the blood of the Knightleys of Knightley, a Staffordshire family of high antiquity, and when the many misunderstandings with which the Elizabethan heralds cumbered the family pedigree have been pruned away, Richard's connection with the main line of Knightley may be set down with some measure of certainty.

Knightley is *Chenistelei* in Domesday Book, and was then a manor of Earl Roger de Montgomery, and under him it was held by Rainald de Bailleul, the Norman baron of Bailleul en

Gouffern. According to an honoured custom amongst the heralds and genealogists of earlier years the Domesday tenant Rainald was greeted as without doubt the ancestor of the Knightleys who were to succeed him. In an illuminated space he sat as 'Sir Rainald Knightley of Knightley' contentedly at the head of the many shielded pedigree which is the pride of the house, and in time gave his name in 1819 to Sir Rainald Knightley, the first and last peer of the name. But in our own day the stemfather, as the Germans have it, of a long genealogy holds place compared with which the presidency of a Central American republic is stability itself. Eyton's researches forced Rainald to take Bailleul for his surname in place of Knightley, and Mr. Round, with the French cartularies in hand, closes to Rainald the career of an ancestor by killing him off without issue and providing him a nephew Hamelin for next heir.

The next name upon the family pedigree is that of William de Knightley, husband of Adelise. For him authority exists. Mr. Solicitor-General Coke in the reign of King James I., anxious that his pedigree should be enriched by other descents than that of the paternal line with the somewhat *roturier* surname, had discovered for himself a descent from the Knightleys, and the line is accordingly marshalled amongst his ascendants. For this purpose many ancient deeds of the family were collected by him, the muniment chests of the Knightleys and of the Cotes family of Woodcote being also drawn upon. The notes taken from these deeds, themselves long since scattered, happily survive, and although they are roughly set down with great carelessness of date and detail their good faith seems unquestioned, the only doubtful deed amongst them being seemingly a note taken honestly enough from a deed which from internal evidence leads one to suspect one of the later Knightleys of Knightley of that offence of forgery which Sir Walter Scott's first readers deemed such an improbable and unpicturesque offence in the Lord Marmion.

These notes of deeds then give us William of Knightley who by a deed undated, which may be dated by the occurrence of an episcopal witness as between 1125 and 1150, releases his right in the More in Knightley to the canons of Stodleigh for the souls health of himself and of Adelise his wife. We have here a William of Knightley, but knowing as we do that he appears in the pedigree by reason of this deed alone, we are



Sir Richard Knightley, d. 1615.

still without an ancestor for Knightley of Knightley to whom we have no means of tacking the pious William.

In Nicholas, the first undoubted ancestor of the Knightleys, General Wrottesley, whose vast collections relating to the county of Staffordshire are famous amongst antiquaries, detects one Nicholas who bearing the sinister surname of Maucovenant held Knightley by the service of a castle guard at the castle of Oswestry in Shropshire. His son Robert Knightley of Knightley, knight, by a deed between 1184 and 1189 confirms a grant which his father Nicholas of Knightley had made of a meadow in Knightley.

Here sure ground is touched, and although spoiled readers of the novels of Ouida, the 'Dictionary of the Landed Gentry,' and other works of the English romancers will be unmoved by the fact, we have here the source of a family flourishing in the twentieth century, and the genealogist at least will be impressed.

Robert of Knightley is dead before King John's reign, and after him Knightley goes from father to son through six knights of the name. Jordan of Knightley follows Robert, and another Robert follows Jordan.

Robert III. grandson of Jordan, brings into the pedigree what we have been taught to call 'local colour,' and we may say that in Robert's days and long after him the Staffordshire knights and gentry as revealed in the plea rolls are careful that the local colour should be warm and ruddy enough to satisfy the most exacting of our Weyman and Doyles. Robert III. had a mailed finger in the turbulent politics of his day. He was of the faction of Ralph Basset of Drayton, who died at Evesham beside Simon de Montfort. If Robert himself were at Evesham he came safely away, for the rest of his story is pieced together with suits which men of the Royal party, then uppermost, bring against him, relating deeds of wasting woods and sacking houses, spoiling of fishponds and slaying of bucks and does, of which Robert and his fellows had been guilty when Basset's banner was still in the wind. He is in gaol, he is fined, but in the end it is well with him, and he dies the richest man his family had yet bred, marrying Aline, daughter of Ives de Paunton of Rodlowe, an heiress out of Shropshire.

His son Robert IV. of Knightley, who was summoned in 1301 to follow his king against the Scots with horse and arms, follows his father's steps and matches to good purpose with

Alice Doyley, daughter of Sir John Doyley of Ranton and heir of her brother Henry Doyley of Cowley. She brought her husband the manor of Little Wyrley and overlived him two and twenty years, dying in the plague year of 1349. Their son Robert V. is a knight with broad lands in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire and Berkshire, and dying about 1365 leaves a son and heir, Sir John Knightley, who is dead in 1393, the last male of the direct line of Knightleys of Knightley. A daughter and heir, Joan of Knightley, takes Knightley with her to her husband Roger Peshall, and their daughter, another Joan, takes the land from Peshall to Lee, marrying William Lee, a busy lawyer from Shropshire. They had no child, and the last lady of Knightley conveys away Knightley to her cousin Richard Peshall, to whom she had already passed away her shield of the arms of Knightley, excluding herself and all others of her name from any right in it.

For an ancestor of Knightley of Fawsley we return to Robert III. the emptier of fishstews and lifter of bucks and does. Associated with him in his raids is a brother William. When the law comes at last to reckon for these merry doings William has discreetly withdrawn himself into Ireland with James of Audlegh, but in quieter times he comes back to share his brother's rising fortunes. He and his wife have grants of land in Knightley from brother Robert, and William should have settled down upon it to plough and sow, to reap and to mow. But he is a younger son. Robert has the family estate and is anchored to respectability. Queen's Crawley might have made a grave justice of the peace out of Rawdon Crawley. But we cannot away with the suspicion that the hearty Staffordshire habits of his youth clung about William Knightley, and that he was the William Knightley for killing whom in self-defence Richard son of William of Ingwardyn had a pardon in the year 1300.

William leaves two sons and a daughter to mourn the loss of their high-spirited parent. Alice the daughter is matched with Robert Cotes of Cotes, and by him is ancestress of a family still landed at Cotes in Shropshire, to which for some reason difficult to understand, for she was no heiress, she carried the arms of Knightley afterwards borne by his descendants as their own shield. The son and heir Roger Knightley is of Gnosall and is buried there with Sibil his wife. They leave five sons, of whom Peter, a younger son, goes soldiering far

away from Staffordshire. He is called in the pedigrees a knight of Rhodes, for which there is no evidence, but a tantalizing fragment is noted down from his will now lost, but existing in Coke's time, wherein he leaves to the monks of Ranton his arms and the sword with which he had smitten the Turks with many blows. The line of Roger and Sibil goes on through Robert Knightley of Gnosall, who would seem to be their second son. He and his wife Juliane were a mighty puzzle for the genealogists who were determined to wedge him into the main line of Knightley of Knightley.

John son of Robert and Juliane draws upward the fortunes of this younger house of Knightley which were in a fair way to degenerate to rustic obscurity. He marries an heiress, Elizabeth, daughter of Adam of Burgh and granddaughter and heir of William of Burgh by his wife the heir of Cowley of Cowley, and by this match came Burgh Hall and Cowley to the family of Knightley.

His second son John Knightley seems to have been the only man of the line hitherto of any real distinction. A lawyer of some eminence he is made justiciary of Chester after the death of Hotspur at Shrewsbury fight in 1403, and although by reason of his humble rank he is soon to cede this high office to the Lord Talbot, he goes on with the exercise of jurisdiction as deputy to that lord. He married a knight's daughter, Joan Thornbury, widow of William Peyto of Chesterton in Warwick, of whose lands he enjoyed the custody, and after the justiciary's death she marries for a third husband Sir Robert Corbet of Hadley. But his only son by this lady dies young, and for the line of Knightley we turn to his elder brother Richard of Gnosall, who prospers as we may imagine beside his brother's prosperity and leaves by his wife Joan Giffard a son Richard Knightley of Gnosall, who adds Fawsley to his Staffordshire manors of Burgh Hall and Cowley and dies in 1443, first founder of the long line of Knightley of Fawsley.

O. B.

II

The year 1416 was a marked epoch in the history of the Knightley family, since it was at that date that they acquired the manor of Fawsley, which from that day to this has been their home. In the picturesque little church, which lies at a short distance east of the manor house, generation after

generation have found their resting-place, and a careful study of the monuments it contains reveals much family history. But, as is the case in most families, one or two only in each century are sufficiently remarkable to deserve a record in the pages of the county history.

The purchaser of Fawsley was Richard Knightley of Burgh Hall, in the county of Stafford, and the first of the family to represent the county of Northampton in Parliament. He died in 1443, leaving his wife Elizabeth Purefoy in possession of the property, so that their son, also Richard Knightley, only succeeded to the estate on her death in 1474. He married Eleanor daughter of John Throgmorton of Coughton, having been knighted in 1494, when Henry VII.'s second son, afterwards Henry VIII., was made Duke of York. He was three times sheriff. They had nine children, of whom the eldest, Richard Knightley, married Joan Skenard or Skimerton, daughter and heir of Henry Skenard of Alderton. She brought in a great number of the quarterings which are still included in the Knightley shield. The fine altar tomb in Fawsley Church is erected to the memory of this lady and her husband. He died in 1534, but apparently the monument was erected in her lifetime, as no one has ever taken the trouble to fill in the date of her death. Her only daughter Susan married Sir William Spencer of Althorp, who seems to have been a very cantankerous gentleman, as may be discovered by the following story which Mr. Oswald Barron has found amongst the records of the Court of Star Chamber :—

To the Kinges Highnes

In his moost humble wise shewith unto yo^r highnes your daylye orator Edmund Knyghtley that where the right reverent father in God the busshopp of Lincoln that now ys being informed of certen crimynall offences committed and done in the countie of Norhampton within his dioces by one Sir William Spenser knight contrary to the lawes of almighty God toke upon him the reformacion of the same according to his ordinary jurisdiction. Wherew^t the said Sir William was discontent w^t Sir Richard Knyghtley knight his father in lawe and also w^t your said oratour his brother in lawe, supposing that the said order and direccion taken by the said busshope of Lincoln shulde be by the procurement of the said Sir Richard and Edmund. Whereupon the said Sir William Spenser, bering continuall inwarde grudge unto your said orator, the ix^th daye of this present moneth of November, as your said orator in Godes peace and yours was going out of a tavern in Chepe called the Horsehed having Sir Antony Wingfeld knight by the arme, the said Sir William Spenser being there said unto your said suppliant that he had sumwhat to talke w^t him at lesure howbeit he wolde not now trobull the cumpany.

To whome your said besecher untrustinge no hurte auneswered that he wolde gladdely commyn w^t^ him at any convenient tyme that he wolde apoynte and so the said Sir Antony and your orator parted your said suppliant and his elder brother taking the waye toward this Austen Freers. And when they cam to a place called the Stokkes beneth Chepe the said Sir William Spenser in riotous maner w^t^ six or seven persones w^t^ him having their swerdes and bucklers in their handes redi to fight overtoke your said besecher and his said brother, the said Sir William Spenser laying his hande upon his dagger and saying thies wordes Edmund Knyghtley what communicacion hast thou had w^t^ the Busshopp of Lincoln concerning my vicious living. To the which your said oratour auneswered, my lorde of Lincoln can reporte the trouth let him be juge. And therew^t^ the said Sir William said to your said suppliant thies wordes thou art a knave a precious knave and a wretche. And your said oratour auneswered and said I am a gentelman and no knave. And therew^t^ the said Sir William said doest thou thou me nay then thou shalt have a bloo and therew^t^ cast of his gown and his servantes were drawing their swerdes and one of the said servantes called Cartewright being behind your said oratour violently and furiously w^t^ his swerde drawen strake at your said oratour and if he had not bene shoved bakke by the servant of your said oratours brother in streking the said stroke he had utterly slayn your said besecher in somuche that not w^t^standing the brekyng of the said stroke his swerd did light upon your said oratours bakke and cut his gown in divers places. And then the said Sir William seing the peopull resorte to parte them, in suche riotous maner departed saying he wolde mete better w^t^ your saide besecher a nother tyme. And thus of malice prepenced put your said suppliant in great feer and daunger of his life.

The bill goes on to relate how Sir William and his servants killed a buck with his greyhounds in the park at Fawsley on Whitsun even last past, in despite of the keeper, whose bowstring a servant of Sir William cut with his over ready 'swerde.'

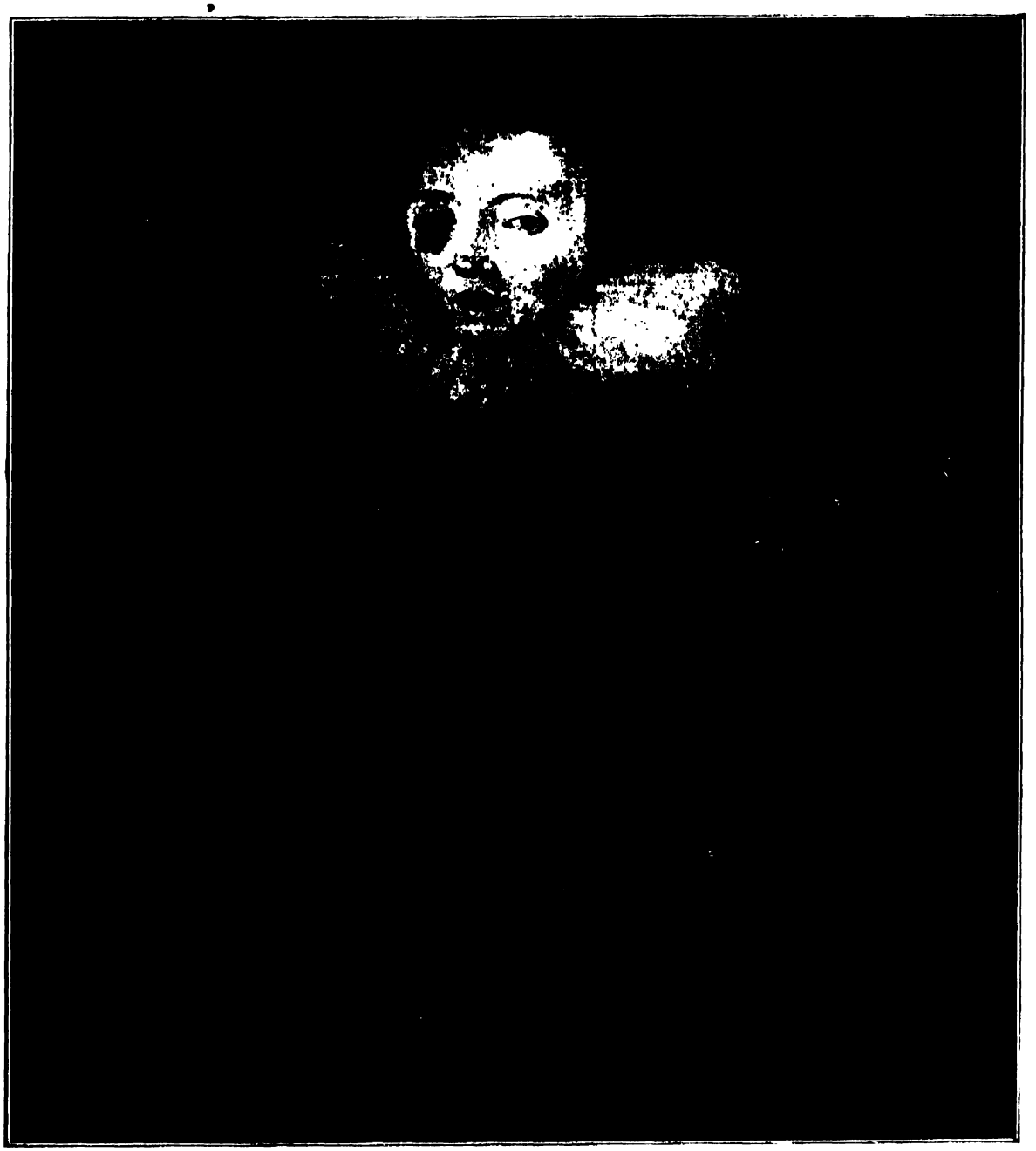
And then incontinent the said Sir William Spenser light down of his horse and drew out his swerd and wolde have striken the keper if he had not bene let by his own servantes, reviling the said keper calling hym knave and saying that w^t^in one month aftur he sholde have xx^ti^ more [bucks] killed and his erys put in his purse.

On the south side of the altar tomb are the figures of the eight sons, the eldest, who was also a Richard, wearing, like his father, the collar of SS. He took to wife Jane daughter of John Spencer of Althorp, and died at Upton three years after his father. He and his wife (who also wears the collar of SS) are buried at Upton near Northampton under an altar tomb apparently very similar to the one at Fawsley. For a long time it was broken up, and the fragments embedded in the wall, but it has now been restored. This Richard Knightley's will, dated March 30, 1537, is still in existence at Somerset House, and is a very curious one. After desiring to be buried

at Upton 'without pompe' and bequeathing 'to every order of Friars at Northampton ten shillings, to sing a trentale for my soule, my father's soule, etc.,' he goes on to give elaborate directions as to the marriage of one of his daughters Suzian or Anne (which of the two young ladies appears to be a matter of indifference), with the son and heir of Master FitzWilliam: a marriage which he seems to have had much at heart, but which did not take place. Towards the dowry of this and his other daughters he leaves 900 sheep and all his other cattle, 'except six oxen lately bought by my wyfe.' Lady Knightley and his brother Sir Edmund are to continue to occupy certain pastures, and the profits arising therefrom are to be put in 'an indifferent place in some cheste or coffer, locked with 2 or 3 small keys,' the wife and brother each to have one and to account for the money to Richard Knightley, Robert Chaintrell, gent., till the marriage money of the daughters be 'clerely paid,' after which the wife and brother may divide the money between them; the box only to be opened by two or three together when money is wanted for stocking the pastures. The elaborate instructions as to the disposal of wool, sheep, etc., proves how large a part they occupied in the agricultural life of those days.

Jane the second daughter married first William Lumley father of John Lord Lumley of Cheame, and secondly (her first husband having been beheaded 1534) John Knotsford of Malvern in the county of Worcester. Both lie buried under a fine monument in Malvern Church.

Thomas, the second son of Sir Richard Knightley, Ivan Skinnerton having died without children before his father, Sir Edmund Knightley, the third son, succeeded on the death of his eldest brother, Sir Richard, in 1537. He is certainly one of the most interesting members of the family. Bred to the bar, he became eminent in his profession, was returned for Wilton in 1529, and was knighted by Henry VIII., and in 1535 appointed one of the Commissioners for the visitation of the monasteries prior to their dissolution. The letter, addressed to Cromwell, and signed by himself and his brother commissioners, interceding for the priory at Catesby, has been often printed. Family tradition has it that Sir Edmund had a *penchant* for the priory. Before he received this appointment Edmund Knightley seems to have fallen into disgrace by some unadvised proceedings with regard to the affairs of his brother-in-law Sir William Spencer, who died in 1532. Cromwell writes



LADY ELIZABETH KNIGHTLEY. D. 1602.

to Henry VIII., September, 1532, that Edmund Knightley 'has done his utmost to set the executors at variance and defeet the King's title to the heir, to effect which he has presumptuously caused proclamations to be made in various towns in Cos. Warwick, Leicester, Northants, in contempt of the King and his laws. My Lord Keeper has therefore committed him to the Fleet until the King's pleasure be known.'

His imprisonment did not last long. Towards the end of the month we find him petitioning Cromwell for his release, and urging as a reason 'the plague with which Fleet Street is now sore infected, to my no little danger; besides my imprisonment move the King to have pity on me'; and apparently he was at once set at liberty, for on October 20 John Onley writes to Cromwell: 'Since the King left, Serjeant Knightley has not ceased to slander his title to all the justices, declaring his sister's great griefs, and the causes of his imprisonment. Knowing such days as be prefixed for the Exchequer for the King, he has ridden down into the country to do some mischief. To counteract him I have caused the King's Council to meet to survey the matter on the King's behalf, and have caused Mr. Paul Devon, the King's serjeant, to ride into the country to meet with him. I wish he had continued in the Fleet.'[1]

Sir Edmund married Ursula daughter of Sir George Vere, and one of the sisters and co-heirs of John Vere, Earl of Oxford. Her first husband was George Windsor son of Andrew Lord Windsor of Bradenham, Bucks. This lady curiously enough figures on no less than three several monuments in different parts of the kingdom. Weever[2] records her name as appearing on the monument to her first husband in Hounslow Chapel (now destroyed). A brass in Fawsley Church depicts her by the side of her second husband, Edmund Knightley, and she lies buried in Letheringham Church, Suffolk, with which place she was connected through her sister Elizabeth Wingfield. Her will, dated 1557, disposes of much property, both in Suffolk and Norfolk.

Sir Edmund it was who built the great Hall at Fawsley, with its handsome chimney piece and oriel window. It is roofed with Irish oak, concerning which the family historian quaintly remarks: 'It is said the timber of that country will

[1] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, vol. v. Henry VIII. 1531–2.
[2] *Monuments* (ed. 1631), p. 529.

not bear a spider, and I am apt to believe it is true, for I never saw a cobweb upon the roof, though so high that nothing could molest them.' In the windows appear the arms of Knightley and Vere with supporters, the blue boar of Vere on the sinister side, and on the dexter side a golden falcon, taken from the crest of the Skinerton family. Sir Edmund Knightley died September 12, 1543, and his six daughters all died young.

The next brother, John Knightley, Rector of Byfield and Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary's, Warwick, being by reason of his Holy Orders incapable of inheritance, executed a deed, March 21, 1542, confirming his father's will, and releasing the property to his younger brother Valentine, sixth son of Sir Richard and Joan Skinnerton. Valentine succeeded therefore on the death of Sir Edmund to an estate large in itself and greatly increased by his brother's requisitions. 'This made him,' says the Family History, 'of great weight and consideration in his county,' and accordingly we always find him in the Commission of Peace and Array, as well as High Sheriff for the county. There is a quaint account[1] of the creation of certain knights, of whom Sir Valentine Knightley was one, at the coronation of Edward VI., February, 1546–7. 'Because the time was so short that they colde not be made of the Bathe according to the ceremonyes thereto apperteyning,' it was decided that 'they shulde be made by his Highness being crowned'; 'and because they were nominate of the Bathe and made with so great royaltie, they were commanded to pay the deutyes of money every one of them, after their degrees and estates double the some of other knights.'

Sir Valentine married Ann daughter of Sir Edward Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton, co. Warwick, and died 1566, leaving five sons and four daughters. Of these sons Edmund the second was called of Grandborough, co. of Warwick, his father having settled that property upon him. The line however became extinct in the next generation, and the estate reverted to the elder line. Edmund Knightley died 1575, leaving his lands to his wife and his second and third sons; to his eldest son Richard his velvet cloak and velvet hose, with strict orders not to molest, trouble or hinder his mother and brothers in letting the land. To Sir Richard Knightley he leaves

[1] Quoted in *Literary Remains of Edward VI.* by T. G. Nichols, vol. i. p. ccc.

his velvet saddle, and to his brother Berry 'his night gown.'

Thomas the third son of Sir Valentine Knightley was commonly known by the name of Thomas of Burghall or Brough Hall in Staffordshire, and from him the present family are descended.

Edward the fourth son was called Edward of Offchurch, co. Warwick, a property acquired by Sir Edmund at the time of the dissolution. It remained in the hands of his descendants until the death of Sir John Knightley, Bart., in 1688. 'He had always promised faithfully to leave his property to his cousin Richard Knightley of Charwelton, but, disregarding his promise, left it to his wife's grandson, by her first husband Thomas Wightwick.' Sir John himself states in his will that he did this in consequence of the unkind behaviour of his Knightley male relations, 'who refused to go to him in his illness.' Major Wightwick assumed the name and arms of Knightley; but this line also terminated in the person of John Wightwick Knightley, who died in 1830, leaving an only daughter, Jane Countess of Aylesford.

Sir Valentine Knightley died 1566, his wife Anne Ferrers 1554. Both are buried under a large monument in the north aisle of Fawsley church.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Sir Richard Knightley, born in 1534, and quite the most interesting of all the race.

L. K.

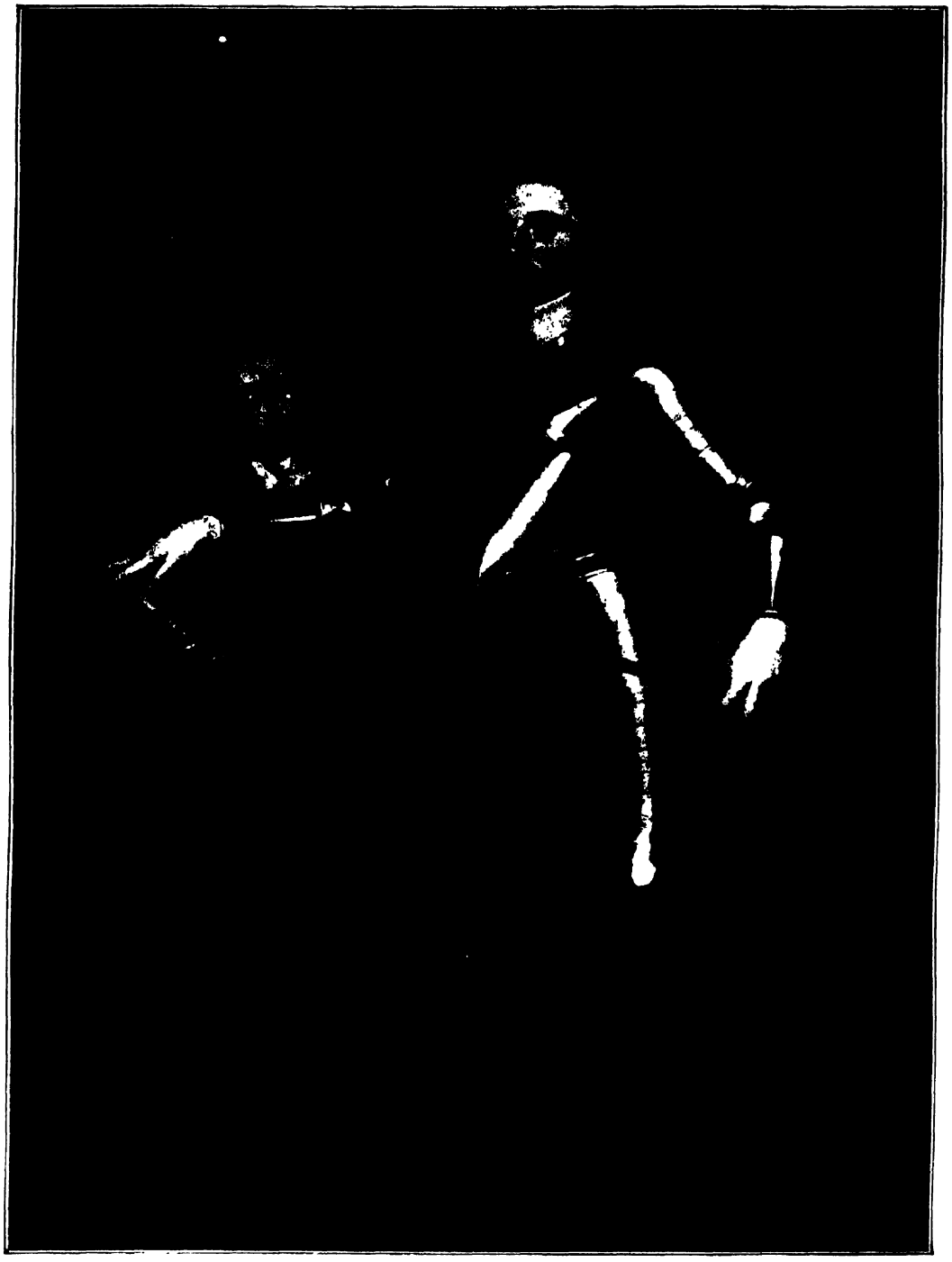
III

Sir Richard Knightley, after a youth which is said to have been at the least a light-hearted one, gave his sympathy to the grim sect which was to be labelled with the name of Puritan; and in the autumn of 1588 'Martin Mar-Prelate' set up his travelling printing press in a garret at Fawsley, where was printed the *Epitome*, an onslaught upon Dr. Bridge's *Defence of the Church of England*, followed by a broadside sheet of abuse aimed at 'the reverende bishops.' Whilst this work was going forward in the garret, Master Penry, for the allaying of suspicion amongst curious malignants, walked in Fawsley Park clad as a gay gallant with a long sword, a hat of the fashion, and a broad sky-coloured cloak with a collar of gold and silver and silk lace. It may be that the sour fanatic did not carry these Babylonish garments with a convincing swagger, for curious eyes pried into the garret. The press was borne away to Sir Richard's house at Norton and thence out of

Northamptonshire, but it had left a trail of evidence, and Sir Richard Knightley made an unwilling appearance before the Court of Star Chamber, and was only rescued from the clutches of that tribunal by the generous aid of Archbishop Whitgift, who had been a chief mark for Mar-Prelate's shot. Six years later Sir Richard came again to the same bar, for meddling in a petition, drawn up in 1605, against the suspending of the Nonconformists, and this time came not off so lightly, for his sentence was a fine of £10,000 and deprival of his posts. He lived until 1615, and died at an age of 82 years.

He left a long family of children, who did much to impoverish their father's great estate, which had been reckoned at £13,000 a year. By his first wife, a Fermor of Easton Neston, he had six children, and nine more came of his second wife. This second wife was a daughter of the great Protector Somerset, and it is strange to note that in but four generations her numerous Knightley descendants end in obscure London tradesmen—drapers and oilmen outside the city gates.

His son Sir Valentine Knightley succeeded to Fawsley and to the Puritan tradition, for with his father he had been a signer of the unlucky petition of 1605, and from him Fawsley passed in 1618 to his nephew Richard Knightley of Preston Capes. With him another Puritan ruled in Fawsley. He returned again and again to Parliament, where he ranged himself with the obstinate opponents of the Court. His shrievalty of Northamptonshire in 1626 is said to have been due to the king's desire to keep him from Westminster. He saw the inside of the king's prison of the Fleet for resisting the forced loan; was close at the elbows of Eliot, Pym and Hampden; and set John Dod, the Cambridge Puritan, in Fawsley rectory. At his death Fawsley passed again from the direct line to another Richard Knightley, a nephew of Penry's patron. This Richard's son married a daughter of John Hampden, and sat in the Short Parliament and in the Long. He signed the solemn league and covenant, but refused to aid in the plans for trying the king, and for his reluctance was a prisoner for a fortnight in the hands of the army. He might have been Speaker, had he willed it, of Richard Cromwell's Parliament; but the tide was turning. Richard Knightley sat as one of that Council of State which recalled the king to enjoy his own again; and at the coronation of King Charles II. the Puritan statesman became a Knight of the Bath.



THOMAS LORD GREY OF GROBY.

IV

At the death of Richard Knightley Fawsley again left the direct line, coming to one Lucy Knightley of Hackney, a Hamburg merchant, whose father, another Lucy Knightley of Hackney, citizen and mercer and Hamburg merchant to boot, could hardly have hoped such fortune for his branch of the family, he being sixth of the eight younger brothers of Sir Richard, the Knight of the Bath. This was in 1695, and since that year the direct line has failed again five several times. In 1798 John Knightley of Fawsley was created a baronet with remainder to the issue male of his brother Charles. The third baronet was Sir Rainald Knightley, a well-known figure in the House of Commons as member for South Northampton for forty years. He was created in 1872 Lord Knightley of Fawsley, a title which became extinct with his death in 1895, when his cousin Sir Charles Valentine Knightley succeeded him in the baronetcy. The baronet and his brother, the Rev. Henry Francis Knightley remain the only known male descendants of Nicholas Maucovenant of Knightley, whose family with its troops of sons seemed in the seventeenth century as though its spreading line could never fail in Warwickshire or Northamptonshire.

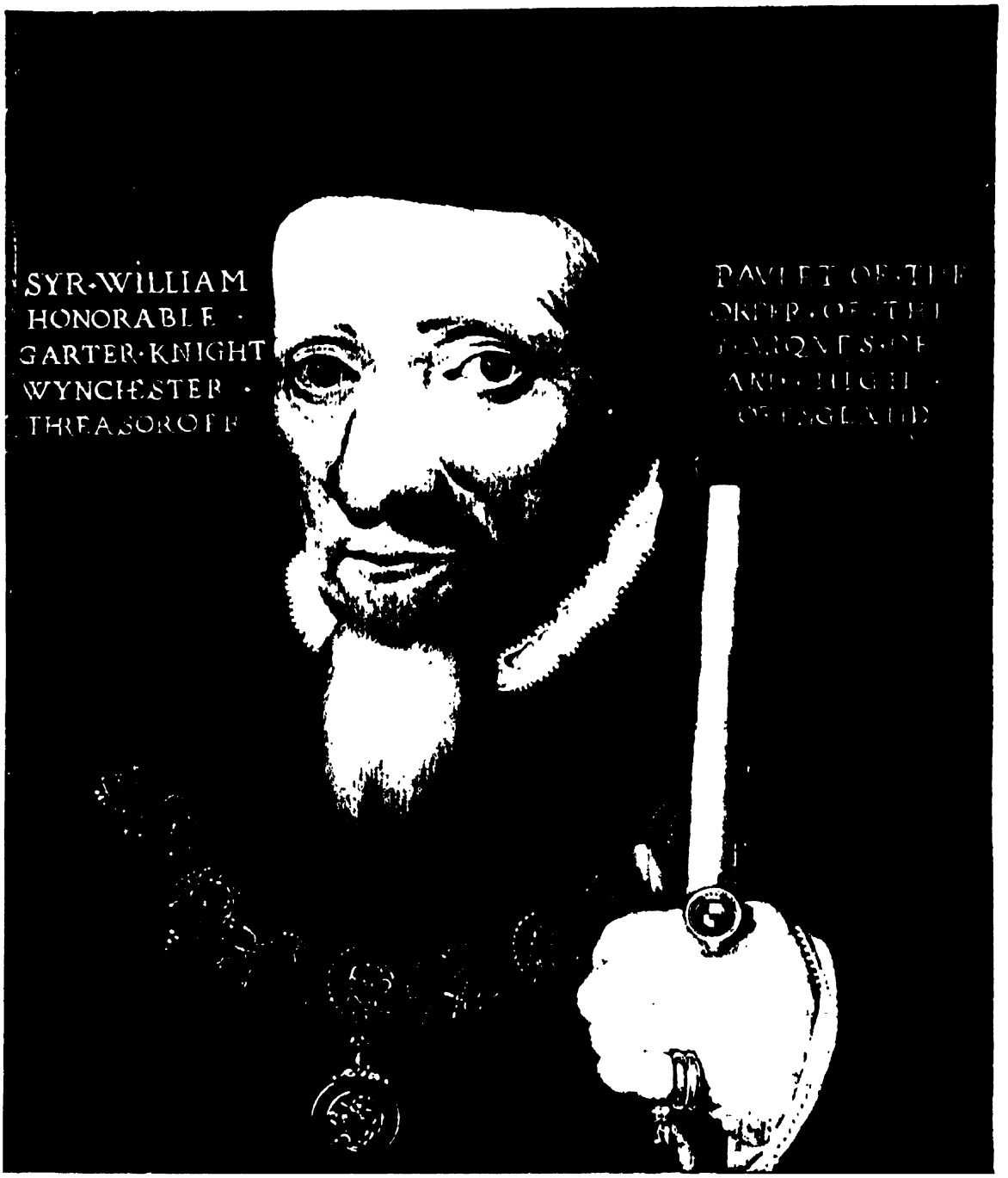
SOME PORTRAITS AT THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

IN the year 1828, by the will of the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, the Society of Antiquaries became possessed of a number of valuable historical portraits. Four are here reproduced, those of Henry VII. of England, Mary of Bohemia, Sir William Paulet Marquess of Winchester, and finally the so-called likeness of Queen Jane Seymour.

The portrait of Henry VII. is a small picture 15 by $9\frac{3}{4}$ in., and is remarkably lifelike and well painted. The expression is such as one would expect from a king who was a lover of peace yet hated by his subjects. There is something of the School of Clouet in the treatment of the face, and the garments and jewellery are painted with accuracy and a careful differentiation of textures. The chain, consisting of a roselike ornament and knot, is painted in extraordinary detail. Mr. Scharf says (*Archæologia*, xxxix. 267) that there may be in 'this ornament a reminiscence of the old Yorkist badge, the rose *en soleil*, which Henry VII. may have used in respect of his wife; but the tints are green and white, the colours of the Tudor family.' The hands are not so well painted as the rest. The colouring of the whole is admirable, and Henry's characteristic pallid face, faintly pink eyelids, and long slightly crooked nose are not exaggerated, as is frequently their fate.

The picture is painted on wood, and is of one piece with the frame. The Society owns three other portraits of Henry VII., all artistically inferior.

'Syr William Paulet, of the Honorable Order of the Garter, Knight, Marques of Wynchester and High Threasoroer of England,' as he is styled on his portrait, was born in 1475, and lived through the reigns of seven monarchs, dying at the age of ninety-six. He is represented as of dark complexion, with a reddish nose and a grey goat's beard. He bears in his hand the white staff of office. A similar but superior picture in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, and reproduced in *Lodge*, vol. ii. plate 38, differs only from this one by



Sir William Paulet.



PORTRAIT SUPPOSED TO BE OF JANE SEYMOUR.



KING HENRY VII.



Queen Mary of Bohemia.

the black cap being tied on the opposite side, and by having other arms enamelled on the signet ring. In neither case are the arms of Paulet indicated. The picture is painted very thinly on wood, allowing the grain to show through, and there are curious fine black lines on the surface, which might indicate that it was never properly finished. The expression of the face somewhat bears out the extraordinary character given him by Naunton, who, speaking of him and the then Earl of Pembroke, tells us generally that

> they were both younger brothers (a mistake with regard to Sir William), yet of noble houses, and spent what was left them and came on trust to the Court, where upon the bare stock of their wits, they began to traffic for themselves, and prospered so well that they got, spent and left more than any subjects from the Norman Conquest to their own times.

Sir William Paulet 'being demanded by an inward friend how he had lived in the times of seven monarchs, in all times of his life increasing in greatness of honour and preferment,' replied :—

> Late supping I forbear,
> Wine and women I forswear ;
> My neck and feet I keep from cold ;
> No marvel that though I be old
> I am a willow, not an oak ;
> I chide but never hurt with stroke.

The fact that there is no record of his having taken part in public life before the age of fifty-eight is remarkable.

The portrait of Mary of Bohemia at the age of fourteen is peculiarly attractive. Her face, in spite of the full and unmistakable Austrian lip, is pleasing, and her soft brown eyes set in a very fair skin have a gentle expression. She was a sister of the Emperor Charles V., and married Louis II., King of Hungary and Bohemia. She lost her husband when she was twenty-one, and vowed to lead a life of perpetual widowhood. She was Governess of the Netherlands in 1530, and died in the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession. The striking likeness of her features to those of Philip IV., as we know them from his portraits by Velasquez, is interesting to note, for the relationship was not close : she was his great-great-aunt.

The technique of this picture is curious. It is painted on vellum stretched on a panel, and the gold work on the dress has been furrowed with deep lines, which have been filled in

with crimson colour. The background is deep turquoise blue fading into a lighter tone towards the lower part of the picture. The crimson hat, enriched with pearl and gold ornaments, is oddly similar to those worn by ladies of the present day, and hair is gathered at the back of the head under a brown and the gold network. The whole picture is one of the most charming in drawing, colour and expression that the Society of Antiquaries possesses.

The portrait of a Lady or the Court of Henry VIII. entitled, without any satisfactory ground, Queen Jane Seymour, is a remarkably fine painting, and for that reason alone of great interest. It is closely allied in feeling and treatment to the Holbein School, and reminds one insensibly of the great series of drawings at Windsor Castle. The face is kept light, and the black veil on the five-cornered English hood is cunningly arranged so as to form a dark background to the outline of the cheek, a contrivance often seen in Holbein's work. The figure is peculiarly well rounded and modelled, and the scheme of colour is most agreeable. A dark green background throws up the fair skin and the rich golden brown brocade of the bodice, while black sleeves and white ruffles balance the composition of the lower part of the picture. The age of the lady might be thirty-five, yet no lines are painted on the straight English features, and the whole gives a pleasant impression of a person who was reposeful and agreeable to look upon, without possessing any great beauty of mind or body.

ESTELLE NATHAN.

THE HOUSEHOLD BOOKS OF SIR MILES STAPLETON, BART., 1656–1705

I

AMONG the muniments at Carlton Towers, Yorkshire, are a portion of the Household Books of Sir Miles Stapleton, beginning in April, 1656. Unfortunately the series is not complete, and there are several gaps, but that which remains is full of most interesting particulars, covering half a century of English social life. Although the books are not in any way of the nature of a diary, nevertheless an outline memoir of the venerable owner of Carlton Hall, who suffered much and keenly for his allegiance to the Roman obedience, might be readily compiled. These books are eighteen in number. The first is for the years 1656-60; the second, 1661–3; the third, 1664; the fourth, 1668–9; the fifth and sixth, 1672–3; the seventh, 1676; the eighth, 1678; the ninth, 1682; the tenth, 1688; the eleventh, 1696; the twelfth, 1697; the thirteenth, 1698; the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth, 1700–2; and the seventeenth and eighteenth, 1704–5.[1]

The light thrown by these books on the life of a country squire of the last half of the seventeenth century, possessed of a limited income and much hampered by his religious disabilities, helps to prove the utter untrustworthiness of Macaulay's celebrated but coarsely-painted caricature of the provincial gentleman of the time of Charles II. He is there painted as a loutish hard-drinking clown, possessed of no refined tastes, hardly ever leaving his estate even for a visit to London, with farm filth heaped under his chamber window, and cabbages and gooseberry bushes growing at his doorstep. If he chanced to be a Roman Catholic, this imaginative historian (who could never have studied diaries, letters, or private accounts of the days he described) states that he would be 'somewhat more simple and clownish' than the rest of his brother squires,

[1] Permission was granted me some twelve years ago to make full extracts from these books and from a few other papers of the like period. To the best of my belief none of the matter here recorded has hitherto been printed.

because he lacked the degree of polish obtained at a public school or the university, and was almost perforce obliged to vegetate on his own acres. The absurdity of Macaulay's estimate is strikingly demonstrated in the details that can be gleaned from these eighteen private ledgers.

There were certainly a score or two of country gentlemen in equally affluent circumstances with Sir Miles Stapleton in each of the three ridings of the great county of Yorkshire; and there is no reason to suppose that his taste and expenditure in building and in gardens, his love of pictures and of books, his frequent journeys to town and his visits throughout the country side, his purchase of silver and ebony and other rarities, his support of companies of players presenting the best known dramas of the day, his expenditure on oranges and lemons and the delicacies of the time, his care as to his own dress and that of the ladies and children of his household, his engaging of a dancing master and his delight in the playing of the virginals, as well as his general benevolence, were attributes peculiar to himself. Sir George Sitwell and others who have had access to old family letters and accounts of like days in different parts of the country have much the same story to tell; so that Sir Miles Stapleton may be taken as the type of the better class of country gentlemen of the period following the Restoration, who, whilst having no sympathy whatever with Puritanical narrowness, were as remote from the boorishness of country clowns as from the viciousness of a licentious court.

The Stapletons of Yorkshire derive their name from Stapleton-on-Tees, a village on the road between Richmond and Darlington, where they originally settled. An ancestor of Sir Miles, of the same name, obtained Carlton, a hamlet of the parish of Snaith, through his wife, in the time of Edward I.

Richard Stapleton of Carlton, who died in 1612, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Pierpont of Holme Pierrepont. Elizabeth survived her husband for thirty-six years, and kept possession of the family estates for life, to the impoverishment of the heirs. Her eldest son Gilbert and his family resided at Quosque Hall, a small adjacent dower house, whilst she herself occupied Carlton Hall, which had been begun to be rebuilt at the time of her husband's death. Gilbert Stapleton, who died in 1636, married early in life Catherine, daughter of William Hurgate of Saxton. Their only child died in

infancy. In 1618 he married, for his second wife, Eleanor, eldest daughter of Sir John Gascoigne of Lasingcroft and Barnboro', Yorks. They had six children.

Richard, the eldest son, was fifteen at the time of his father's death, and declared the heir; but after his grandmother's death, in 1648, Richard was declared a lunatic, and found to have been so since he came of age in 1641.

Gregory, the second son, was the next heir; but he was a Benedictine priest of the college of St. Gregory, Douay, and therefore incapable canonically of inheriting property. He resigned his birthright in favour of his brother Miles. Gregory became president of the English congregation at Douay in 1669, and held that office until his death on August 4, 1680. He came to England in 1667 to give evidence at the Titus Oates trials.

John, the fourth son, who was born in 1630, died in 1644.

Mary, the elder daughter, became a nun of the convent of English Benedictines at Cambray in 1648, of which house her aunt, Catherine Gascoigne, was abbess. She died on August 8, 1688.

Anne, the younger daughter, married Mark Errington of Ponteland, Northumberland. Her son, Nicholas Errington, assumed the name of Stapleton after Sir Miles' death, and became heir to Carlton under his uncle's will.

Miles Stapleton thus became heir to Carlton on the death of his grandmother in 1648; but he did not enter into all his inheritance until the death of his mother at a much later date.

Miles took for his first wife Elizabeth, second daughter of Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, K.G., who was slain at the battle of Edgehill. By her he had three children, Bryan, Elizabeth and Edward; but they all died in infancy. She died on February 28, 1684. Sir Miles Stapleton,[1] who had been made a baronet in 1662, married for his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Longueville of Wolverton,

[1] See *The Stapletons of Yorkshire* (1897), by H. E. Chetwynd-Stapylton. This is in the main a reprint of articles from the *Journal of the Yorkshire Archæological Society*. The danger of drawing hasty conclusions from slight and unwarranted inferences is strikingly illustrated in this book. The writer assumes that Sir Miles Stapleton deserted the Roman faith, because he made 'a Protestant will' in 1692, 'without any invocation of saints.' He makes the same blunder with regard to his second wife. These suppositions are wholly disproved by these household books. The wills of Romanists did not as a rule differ from those of other Englishmen after the Reformation.

Bucks. By her he had one child that died at birth. Sir Miles died in February, 1707, in the eightieth year of his age, the last male representative of this branch of the family. He was buried at Snaith.

It will be found that the entries made by Sir Miles Stapleton for half a century in his household books, acting as his own bailiff, steward and secretary, written in a clear, distinct hand, though latterly somewhat tremulous through age, fill up in a remarkable manner these bare outlines of his life.

As his recusancy, or adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, was one of the main features of his life, and gave rise to several dramatic incidents, it may be well to begin with those extracts that have reference to this phase of the affairs of Carlton Hall.

II

The genuineness of the baronet's religious convictions is constantly shown throughout these accounts. Among the payments are frequent sums bestowed upon the seminary priests, the harbouring of whom constituted an act of felony. The expression 'to pray for me,' which so frequently occurs in entering gifts to priests, meant no doubt the commemoration in the mass, which it would not have been safe to name in express terms. A priest of the name of Harper was for some years in receipt of £5 a year for his secret ministrations in the private chapel of Carlton. He succeeded Mr. Thomas Thwing as chaplain in 1668, but all the Roman priests of those days had to keep moving from time to time to divert suspicion. They dressed as laymen and made frequent use of *aliases*.

In the accounts for 1668 mention is made of thirteen pounds of wax purchased for altar lights, at 1*s*. the pound. The following are other entries of that year relative to priests and the altar :—

	£	*s*.	*d*.
It. given to Mr. Pearson to pray for mee Apr. 22nd. . . .	00	10	00
It. given to Mr. Thomas Thwing May 9th when hee went away from mee, and Mr. Harper, or Mr. Poragh came in his place.	00	10	00
It. paid to Mr. Harper for his first quarter's allowance due at Lammas 1668	01	05	00
It. given to good Mr. Hardwicke to pray for me when my wife and I was at Beedall July the 11th	00	05	00
It. paid for two quarts of sack for the aulter bought at Yorke .	00	05	00
It. paid for a pinte of white wine for the aulter	00	00	06

Thomas Thwing or Thweng was a connection of Sir Miles, for he was a nephew of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, and of a good Yorkshire family. After his ordination at Douay in 1665, he was sent upon the English mission, and laboured, chiefly in Yorkshire, for fifteen years. He was imprisoned at the time of the Oates persecution, and tried at the York assizes in July, 1680. The same two perjured witnesses, who were disbelieved in the charges against Sir Miles Stapleton, Sir Thomas Gascoigne and others, gave evidence; but he was not allowed, like the others, a special jury, and the contradictory evidence of many persons of position and character was rejected, and Thwing was condemned. Dodd observes, 'It was requisite that one at least should die, to support the belief of the Yorkshire plot, and Mr. Thwing, being a priest, was judged a proper sacrifice.'[1] He was reprieved for a time, and offered his life if he would take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, but he refused, though declaring his readiness to take any oath of civil obedience. He was martyred at York on October 23, 1680.[2]

The expression from the just cited household book as to 'Mr. Harper or Mr. Poragh' probably implies that Poragh was an *alias* for Harper. John Harper, who was also a Douay priest, laboured to an advanced age, chiefly in the Lancashire district.

In the accounts for the next year, payments were made to priests of the name of Rushton, Kirton, Harecoat and Whitfield, who seem to have been officiating at Carlton, and also to 'poor Mr. Anthony Metcalfe' at Bedale. William Harcourt was put to death on account of the Oates plot in January, 1679; William Rushton was subsequently accused, but escaped. Anthony Metcalf was imprisoned at York Castle in 1680 for refusing the oath of supremacy. John Whitfield was an old priest of the Durham district; he was seized when saying mass at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1654, and imprisoned.

In 1672 a priest of the name of Ralph Champney received 10*s.* for his services at Christmas.

In 1676 Thomas Thwing was at Carlton for Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsun Day, as well as on two Sundays in June, one in July, and one in August, 'helping mee and my familye,' according to the periphrasis used by Sir Miles in his

[1] Dodd's *Church History*, iii. 301.

[2] *Records of the English Province S. J.* xii. 751, 761–2.

account book. On Easter Day and Ascension Day he received 10*s.* for his pains, and 5*s.* on the other occasions. On September 16 he also received 5*s.*, 'my mother's anniversary day to pray for her (soul).' Other priests who officiated at Carlton and received gifts during the year were William Rushton, John Lodge, Ralph Champney and Mr. Hardwick. A special entry states that 5*s.* was 'given to Mr. John Lodge to pray for my good uncle Francis Gascoigne October the 8th, 1676, hee dyed in September before.' Sir Miles had subscribed 10*s.* in 1664 towards the maintenance of John Lodge, son of Christopher Lodge, who was then a student at Douay.

In this same year, when the recusancy of the Duke of York was much discussed, great efforts were made to secure a full return of all the Roman Catholic recusants. The ecclesiastical returns made by the churchwardens were known in many cases to be unreliable, and the justices were ordered to be exact in requiring recusant returns from the parish constables at Quarter Sessions. The squire of Carlton on this occasion not only dared to tamper with the constable of his parish, but was bold enough to enter the details in his household book :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
It. given to Christopher Ward our constable of Carlton for not giveing in the names of the Cath(olics) at Waikfeild Sessions in January 1676 (7)	00	02	00
It. paid John Sotheby's chardges to Waikfeild Sessions Jan. the 12 1676 (7) goeing along with the constable to prevent giveing in names &c.	00	03	06

There are two most interesting entries, under the year 1678, pertaining to Sir Miles' fellow religionists :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
It. given amongt the poore people of Carleton at Christmas every one a pecke of rye and sixpence in money and the pore Catholicks twelve pence, the money comes to two and twenty shillings and sixpence besides were four loads of rye	01	12	06
It. given to the poore prisoners at York Castle	01	10	00

Throughout the seventeenth century York Castle was seldom if ever free from recusant prisoners. Many were detained there for five, ten, and even twenty years, solely on matters of religion. The Oates plot had at this time crowded York Castle with Roman Catholics. Canon Raine has given terrible accounts of the awful condition of the York gaols of

this period, wherein so many of the victims died—'the dungeons of the Inquisition were scarcely worse.'[1]

In 1678 'good Mr. Rushton,' 'good Mr. John Smithson' and Mr. Ralph Champney administered to the spiritual wants of Carlton Hall. Ten shillings was forwarded this year to the 'poor Catholicks of Beedale per Mr. Alleson of Danby.' Mr. Allison was shortly afterwards apprehended as a priest and lodged in York Castle, where he died in confinement.

'Creeping to the Cross' on Good Friday is several times mentioned in these account books in connection with the sum of 2*s.*, which would be his customary offering for the safe-guarding of the Holy Places.

In 1688 occurs the following entry :—

	£	*s.*	*a.*
It. given to Mrs. Moore of Yorke May 26th 1688 fifteen shillings which she is to give to the fryers for ten weeks allowance at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* for one meale a week and this for 10 weeks from Whitsun Monday the 4th of June till Monday the 13th of August	00	15	00

The sum of 10*s.* 6*d.* was afterwards expended in a like manner for seven weeks up to September 29. These entries seem to refer to some effort to re-establish Dominican friars at York towards the end of the reign of James II. It is well known that there was a nunnery at York at this period.

In this year Mr. John Baits (a priest) received a quarter's allowance of £5. Mr. Simpson received 5*s.* 'to say mass on Midsumer day.' This is the first time this expression is used. Other priests who ministered this year at Carlton were Henry Lawson and Francis Every (here entered under his *alias* of Evers). The former laboured in the Yorkshire district for fourteen years ; the latter was for a long period the superior of the district. A reward of £100 was offered for Francis Every's apprehension in 1679, in consequence of the Oates plot, the reward for the other Fathers being only £50. He was a continuous fugitive during the persecuting outburst that followed on the flight of James II.[2]

Under the year 1700, £10 was entered in two quarterly allowances at Michaelmas and Christmas of £5 each for Mr. Baits, who was evidently at that time the domestic chaplain of Carlton. In addition, he received another £5 on January 1, 1701, 'for a new years guift.'

[1] *York Castle Depositions*, Surtees Society, vol. xl.
[2] *Records of the English Province S. J.* xiii. passim.

On Ash Wednesday (March 5), 1701, Sir Miles gave 5*s.* to 'poore Catholickes.' A like bequest for a like object was handed to Mr. Baits on each Sunday in Lent.

In 1704, a diversity of priests served the private chapel at Carlton. The names entered in the household book are Parke, Littleton, Calvert, Selby, Corker, Barber, Henry Poole, William Calvert, Lodwick Fenwick, Eadsford, Robert Stanfield, William Champney, Clavaron, and Jenison *alias* Taylor. Of these, Father James Corker, a Benedictine, was a man of much note and remarkable experience. He was put on his trial in 1679 with the four Jesuit Fathers, and was acquitted of complicity in the false plot. He was then charged (under 27 Eliz.) with being a priest, and condemned to death ; but he was reprieved and detained in Newgate gaol until the accession of James II. He was then received at court as resident ambassador of the elector of Cologne. On the landing of William, the frenzy of the London Protestant mob was first directed against Father Corker ; but he escaped to the continent, and was elected abbot first of Cismer, and afterwards of Lambspring. In 1696 he resigned his abbacy and returned to England ; he died at Paddington in 1715. John Barber was one of the staff of missioners of the Suffolk district in 1704. John Edesford was residing at Carlton in December, 1680, when the mob broke into Sir Miles' house in an endeavour to find him, but he managed to escape. The whole of that winter he always travelled by night and on foot. The Annual Letters for 1688 and 1710 give most interesting accounts of him.[1] Sir Miles always terms him 'good Mr. Eadsford.' Jenison *alias* Taylor was Father Ralph Jenison *alias* Freville ; he was superior of the Durham district. Clavaron is probably a misspelling for Ralph Clavering, a missioner of the Durham district, who had made some preliminary study for the priesthood at Carlton.

In 1705 most of these priests are named again, as well as John Baits and John Lodge, each of whom received a quarter's allowance.

III

The numerous entries in the household books pertaining to the chapel afford much interesting detail, pertaining to such

[1] *Records of the English Province S. J.* xii. 682–4 ; but the mistake is made of placing the Carlton of his residence near Skipton.

matters as the supply of wafers, the houseling cloth, the paschal candle, the making of a vestment in 1664, and the construction of a new chapel in the gallery, with priests' chamber and two closets, in 1668. We wonder if the Quaker of Selby, from whom Sir Miles purchased hinges and lock, had any idea that they were to be used in the making of a tabernacle.

	£	s.	d.
1660			
Disbursed for things for the Chappell			
It. paid for a card for the alter	00	01	06
It. paid for 2 paper pictures for the alter	00	01	00
It. paid for 2 little cruets for the alter	00	00	06
It. paid to Mr. Bayly for a great picture for the alter being in colours, a crucifix and our blessed Lady and St. John with St. Mary Magdalene	02	00	00
It. paid for a box to put the picture in	00	00	06
It. paid for bringing the picture doune by the carryer	00	01	00
It. paid for a pound and 3 quarters of bee wax for candles	00	01	08
It. paid for a wax book for the chappell	00	00	09
It. Jack spent at Doncaster when he fetched the picture	00	00	04
It. paid for 2 extinguishers and two savealls for the alter	00	00	08
It. paid for a pound of wax for candles	00	01	00
It. paid to Nan Hall for 3 quarters of a pound of wax for candles	00	00	08
It. paid to my mo. for three pounds of wax for candles	00	03	00
1661			
Inp. Paid for two new tin save alls for the alter	00	00	06
It. Paid for wax for a paschall candle	00	01	04
It. Paid for some hard rushes for the chappell	00	01	00
It. Paid for a pinte of sacke for the alter	00	01	00
It. Paid to Easter for 2 hundred and a halfe of breads for the Alter	00	01	03
It. Paid for a box to put them in	00	00	04
1662			
It. Paid for two new puter candlesticks for the Aulter	00	02	00
It. Paid for halfe an ell of course holland to make a towell for communicants	00	02	00
1664			
It. Paid to one's Mannors wife for rushes for the chappell	00	01	00
It. Paid for 200 of breads at York	00	01	00
October the first 1664			
Laid out for furniture for chappell &c.			
Inp. Paid to Will Lodge of Beedall ten ells of holland at 4*s.* 10*d.* an ell to make a new albe and some other little things as anisses, munditorye and little hand towels	02	08	04
It. Paid then to Will Lodge for lace for the albe	00	08	00
It. Paid then to Will Lodge for inckle for 3 anisses	00	00	04
It. Paid then to Hanna Lodge for making the albe and anisses	00	05	00

	£	s.	d.
It. Paid more to Will Lodge for 12 yards of pinke coloured floored tabbye at 3s. a yard for making a vestment and Antependium for the Aulter with two quissions and two corporus cases	01	16	00
It. Paid more to Will. Lodge for six yards of scotch tabbye to line the vestment with at 2s. 8d. a yard	00	16	00
It. Paid more then to Will. Lodge for a dozen and a halfe of galloon for the vestment and Antependium	00	02	06
It. Paid then more to Will Lodge for red silk to make the vestment and Antependium with	00	00	06
It. Paid to John Hornbye for red silke for making the vestment and Antependium with &c.	00	00	04
It. Paid December the 9th 1664 to a Scotch man for 3 yards and 3 quarters of fine Scotch cloth for an Aulter cloth	00	07	06
It. Paid for pinke coloured silk bought at York for makinge the church stuffe	00	00	06
It. Paid more to Will Lodge for two yards more of the said pinke coloured floord tabbye to make a vaile and some other little things	00	06	00

1668

February the 23rd 1668, disbursed as followeth for makeing the new chappell in the gallerye and other partitions and roomes there, that is to say one bed chamber and two closets besides the chappell.			
Inp. Paid to Mathew Geere of Holden for 25 poles for makeing the partitions	01	10	00
It. Paid more to Mathew Geere for 30 fur deales for doores and for nailes and banisters before the Aulter in the chappell	01	12	06
It. Paid to Tho. Walker for deales for makeing the canopye over the Aulter, and the picture frame	00	15	06
It. Paid for bringing the poles and deales from Holden by water	00	02	00
It. Paid to Cornelius Barker for goeing to Holden to buy the poles and deales	00	03	00
It. Paid to Cor. Barker for makeing the partitions in the gallery and five wainescott doores March the 14th 1668	01	16	00
It. Paid more to Cor. Barker for makeing the railes and banisters before the Aulter and for colouring them	01	02	06
It. Paid more to Cor. Barker for makeing the new Aulter with steps above, and one belowe, and cubbert for tabernacle	01	01	00
It. Paid more to Cor. Barker for makeing the picture frame	00	09	00
It. Paid more to Cor. Barker for makeing a cannopye to hang over the Aulter with carveing it in all	01	10	00
It. Paid for linseed oyle, white lead, red lead, occar, gum, lams blacke for colouring the doores, canopye, picture frame, with railes and banisters in the chappell	00	09	11
It. Paid to Cor. Barker for colouring the canopye and picture frame and doores	00	03	00
It. Paid for halfe a pound of leafe gold for picture frame	00	01	03
It. Given to Cor. Barker to drinke	00	02	06

	£	s.	d.
It. Paid to the Quaker of Selbye for hinges and latches for the chappell and gallery chamber and closetts	00	13	00
It. Paid to him for a locke and hinge for the tabernacle	00	01	08
It. Paid for a locke for the chappell doore	00	01	00
It. Paid for laths for the partition walls	00	08	06
It. Paid for nailes	00	11	10
It. Paid for lime for the walls and roofes in some places	01	02	08
It. Paid to Edward Clough, Joseph Rodger, and servers in wages for white limeing the partition walls and other walls and roofes of roomes where it wanted mending	02	13	01
It. Paid for haire for the lime	00	04	00
Mem. Makeing and finishing the chappell and roomes ith gallery cost in all	17	04	11
Disbursed about makeing Mr. Harpers closett as followeth :			
It. Paid to Tho. Walker for furr deales for the closett	00	07	04
It. Paid to Cor. Barker for makeing the partition wall for the closett, and a new doore and for seting up shelves	00	17	06
It. Paid for laths and nailes for the partition wall	00	05	00
It. Paid for lime for the wall	00	02	00
It. Paid to Ed. Clough and Joseph Rodger and server for white limeing the wall	00	04	06
Mem. This closett cost in all	01	06	04
1700			
It. Paid for 4 yards of staynd callicoe for covering the Aulter 12th of November	00	07	04
It. Paid for one pound of wax candles at Yorke, very ill ones	00	01	08
It. Paid for six pounds of white bleached wax candles at London	00	12	00
It. Paid for a firr box to put them in 1*s.* and for carriage 1*s.* 7*d.* to Doncaster	00	02	07
1704			
It. Paid for 3 pounds of Bees wax to make candles for the Aulter	00	03	00

IV

The recusants of the township of Carlton were always numerous during the Elizabethan and Stuart times for so small a hamlet. This might naturally be expected, as the manor continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Roman Catholic hands. In 1604 there were twenty-six recusants returned at Carlton and fourteen in the adjacent parish of Drax, where the Stapletons were landowners. At that date three of the Stapletons occur in the Carlton recusant list, and there were seven others of the same family thus labelled in other parts of Yorkshire.[1]

The household books of Sir Miles Stapleton afford many incidental instances of the disabilities and hardships endured by

[1] Peacock's *Yorkshire Roman Catholics of* 1604, pp. 28, 29, etc.

the recusants. The first of these occurs in 1661, when there are two noteworthy entries:

	£	s.	d.
Spent with my cosen Fardinandoe Thwenge March the 4th 1661, when I went to see him being then a prisoner in York Castle	00	03	00
Given then to the centry or doorekeeper	00	00	06

The Thwings or Thwengs of Heworth were staunch recusants; but they were thoroughly loyal to the royalist cause during the Civil War. Ferdinando Thwing lost much of his estate and was confined to his own house by the Roundheads in consequence of his services to the cause of Charles I. This made his arrest for being a Romanist all the more trying. In August, 1660, he had petitioned the Crown for the restoration of certain rights to the sea-wrack or seaweed on the coast, which his ancestors had held for three hundred years.[1]

The heavy fining of the estates of recusants was resumed in earnest in 1676. The Carlton household books yield evidence of Sir Miles' resolute endeavours to protect his property as much as possible. To secure this end he did not hesitate to bribe the acting under-sheriff, the high sheriff's son, and to treat the jury with much liberality. His interference with the parish constable in restraining him from making a return of the recusants of Carlton has been already mentioned.

October the 1st, 1676, Disbursed since then, for rideing chardges, and severall other things, &c.	£	s.	d.
Inp. Spent in chardges to Rippon October the 1st 1676 myselfe with two men and three horses being there two nights about speaking with the high Sheriff S^{r} Edmond Jennings to desire his favour to mee hee then haveing a Comission to enquire into the estates of recusants by a jurye &c.	01	04	07
It. Given then to the high Sheriffs sonn Mr. Edmond Jennings who was under Sheriffe to his father, two ginny peices of gold to be favorable to mee	02	03	00
It. Given to Mr. Tho. Headley of Snaith the bayliffe for shewing a coppye of the jurye that was to enquire after my recusansye	00	02	00
It. Given to Mr. Cooplands sonn when his father sent mee by him a deed w^{ch} he drewe for mee about setling my estate to prevent sequestration &c.	00	02	00
It. Spent in chardges for my-selfe, men and three horses goeing to Crofton, Fetherston, and Waikefeild, where the high sheriff impanneled the jurye that was to enquire into our estates &c. October the 6th 1676	01	00	00

[1] *Dom. State Papers*, Charles II., x. 115.

	£	s.	d.
It. Spent in chardges with the jurye at Sellbye October the 17th 1676, when they mett there to receive information of our estates by the constables and neighbours &c.	00	15	00
It. Given to Richard Dickinson and one of my neighbours for goeing there to Selbye to informe the jurye &c. . . .	00	05	00
It. Given then to Mr. Levet Sr. John Dawneys clarke for goeing to Selbye by his maisters order to produce the deed to the jurye w^{ch} I made to his maister, of my estate, for payment of debts &c.	00	10	00
It. Given to Mr. Hayes the high Sheriffs officer for his favour in this busines about returning us &c. in the Exchequer for the jury could finde mee noe estate at all it being setled for payment of debts Mem. Mr. Ashton of Burne was the foreman of this jurye &c.	00	10	00
It. Paid to Mr. James Thornton his chardges to Midleham to the jurye there that was to enquire into the estates of recusants &c.	00	03	06
It. Given to Dale of Thursk the Bayliffe to forbeare his levying of Ellington for mee w^{ch} I bought of Mr. James Thornton for the poore people of Beedall and the jurye there found it as Mr. Thorntons lands by w^{ch} it is returned into the Exchequer at twenty three shillings and foure pence . .	00	05	00
It. Paid in chardges at York at the Inn October the 24th 1676 for my two men and three horses two nights as I went to Beedall, and my stay at York then was one night longer then I intended because the juryes of enquirye about our estates for recusancye was that day to give in their verdicts to the Sherriff soe as I was desirous to know what they did &c.	00	13	07

Unfortunately the household books for 1679 to 1682 are missing, when the Titus Oates plot charges in the north of England were in full swing. Sir Miles Stapleton was indicted for high treason in 1681 on the information of two of the notorious informers. The indictment was removed by a writ of certiorari to the King's Bench, whence (Sir Miles having been arraigned and pleading not guilty) he was sent down to be tried at the York assizes. The trial was held before Justice Dolben and Baron Gregory on July 18. One William Widdows of York took down the whole trial in shorthand, and it was printed in London ; but the copies were seized and the short-hand writer indicted, so that we have to depend upon the report in the State Trials.[1]

Christopher Tankard was excepted against by the Crown as a juryman because he had been known to disparage the

[1] *Depositions from York Castle* (Surtees Society), p. 251.

evidence of the plot and called his dogs by the names of Oates and Bedloe. The jury eventually sworn were: Sir Barrington Boucher, kt., Sir John Jennings, kt., Richard Hutton, Wellbrough Norton, Tobias Hodson, John Beverley, Anthony Frankland, John Addams, Francis Battery, Francis Fuldgam, Humphrey Brook, and Thomas Lee, esquires.

After John Smith had been called by the Crown to give evidence in general with regard to the plot, Bolron and Moubray gave their testimony. In addition to that which he had stated at the previous trial by Sir Thomas Gascoigne about the plot to kill the king, Bolron declared that Sir Miles Stapleton was to be rewarded by being made a privy councillor to the Duke of York, and that at a further consultation June 13 or 14, 1678, it was agreed to let the French in at Hull as the easiest place for them to land.

Evidence was given on Sir Miles' behalf by Mr. Lowder, Sir Thomas Yarbrough, Lady Yarbrough and many others. The jury, after half an hour's consultation, returned a verdict of 'Not guilty.'

Several entries occur in the troublous year 1688 that have reference to his religious opinions. The first of these relates to some matter in dispute with his co-religionists, the nature of which cannot now be determined.

	£	s.	d.
Paid at Selbye for my coatch and horses, when I went to Yorke Aprill the 3rd 1688 and stayed there two nights about the difference betwixt mee and the monks adviseing then with Mr. Bellwood and Mr. Langley about makeing my answere to the Attourney generalls bill	00	02	06
Paid at Pomfret for ordinary and extraordinary for my selfe when I dyned there with the Comissioners S^r^ Walter Vavasour and Mr. Middleton who tooke subscriptions about the Tests and Penall laws &c. a great many gentlemen there Aug. 1688	00	03	06

In December, 1688, when Protestant fury was at its height in many parts of England, it began to be suspected that even the generally respected character of the squire of Carlton would not save him from molestation. On December 14 Sir Miles paid two shillings as the charges of Ann Barber, a woman member of his household and therefore the less likely to be intercepted, taking a message to 'my Lord of Danby' at York, telling him that he feared he was about to be plundered and asking protection. Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, had recently by clever strategy seized on York for the Prince of

Orange, and encouraged the 'no popery' cry. It is not therefore scarcely surprising to find that, notwithstanding his kinship with Sir Miles, no protection was afforded. On the night of December 16 a large mob burst into the house, and failing to discover a priest, revenged themselves by carrying off Sir Miles Stapleton and his immediate retainers as prisoners. The baronet set down in his accounts the exact cost of their enforced entertainment :

	£	s.	d.
Spent in chardges the 16th of December 1688 when my house was searched by Mr. Hugh Taylor of Coats, Mr. John Taylor of Neuland, Alexander Clarke, John Lamb, John Barnes, and John Haworth of Rauckliff, and three score men more of Rauckliff and Neuland, and stayed all night in the house and drunke above halfe a hogshead of wine and as much ale with bread and chese and what other meat was in the house and carryed me and all my Catholicke men prisoners to Ferry bridge where wee were releasd, and stayd all night, w^{ch} cost me in all	04	10	00
Paid John Sothebys chardges to waite of my Lord Danbye, with my brother, to him to Leeds, where missing him he went on to Doncaster, to meet him the 18th of decem. 1688, after I was carryed away prisoner (tho released) to procure his protection from future trouble	00	08	10

Sir Thomas Osborne had married Bridget, daughter of the Earl of Lindsey, and hence was brother-in-law of Sir Miles; otherwise he would scarcely have thought of applying for help to the then great champion of the Protestant cause. Sir Thomas, who was Lord High Chancellor in 1673, was created Earl of Danby in 1674. William of Orange rewarded him by making him in 1689 lord-lieutenant of all the three ridings of Yorkshire, as well as of the county city of York. He was created Duke of Leeds in 1699.

Among the MSS. of the Duke of Leeds at Hornby Castle is the original of the letter written from Ferry Bridge on December 17, and despatched by John Sotheby. In it Sir Miles describes how his house had been beset last night by sixty or eighty men of his neighbours armed with guns and pitchforks, who searched severely for arms (he is careful to say nothing about the priest), and had that morning brought him prisoner thus far on his way to Pomfret. But at Ferry Bridge they had met with Captain Tankard, and 'the worthy captaine was pleas'd to take my word for my quiet liveing at home, which I hope your lordship will allowe me.' [1]

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report xi. Append. 7, p. 29.

V

Sir Miles Stapleton instead of vegetating on his own estates not only made frequent visits to London, but was often at the county town, and a constant visitor at the gentlemen's houses in his immediate neighbourhood and in some of the more distant parts of the great county. A considerable number of these visits can be traced in the household books by his generous vails to the servants or by other expenditure.

On St. Peter's day, 1661, he visited the leading loyalist of the county, 'my Lord Langdale,' at his seat at Holme in the East Riding. He was then in poor health, and died on August 5.

The considerable Stapleton estates that Sir Miles had secured at the market town of Bedale often took the baronet to the North Riding, though he had no seat there. He was at Bedale in 1662, as appears from the two following entries :

1662

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to my cosen Grahams coatchman when I went with her and Lady Purbecke in her coatch from Beedall to Thorpe to see Mr. Danbye and his wife	00	02	00
It. Given to a boy that guided us the coatch way to Thorpe .	00	00	06

This would be Thorp-under-Stone, in Catterick parish, a little to the south of Richmond.

On September 16 of the same he spent 4*s.* at York when on his way, with his uncle Sir Thomas Gascoigne, 'to see the Bishopp of York at Bishopthorpe.' He gave 3*s.* to the 'Bishop's porter and stable groome.' It is probably safe to conjecture that this visit of two Romanist baronets to Archbishop Frewen was on some question of recusancy.

For the year 1663 there are two entries as to visits with Lady Stapleton to neighbours :

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to Collonell Twissellton's groome when my wife and I went to visit them May the 11th 1663	00	01	00
It. Given to Mr. Walmsleys coatchman May the 13th when my wife and I went to visit them and borrowed a paire of their coatch horses and a paire of harnis because the wayes were then very bad to Staynor	00	02	06

The Stapletons' nearest neighbours were the Dawnays of Cowick Hall. Both Cowick and Carlton were townships of the parish of Snaith ; but visits were somewhat of an undertaking as they were separated by the river Aire. Sir John Dawnay of Cowick, who was M.P. for Yorkshire in 1660,

and for Pontefract from 1661 to 1668, was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Viscount Downe in 1680. His first wife was Elizabeth daughter of Sir J. Melton, who died in February, 1663, and was buried at Snaith. Three months later Sir John married for his second wife Dorothy daughter of William Johnson. The Stapletons called on the second Lady Dawnay early in 1664.

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to my Lady Dawneys coatchman and footman when my wife and I went to Snaith to see her and her coatch met us at the ferry and conveyed us thither and brought us back to the ferry	00	03	06
It. Given then to the Sexton at Snaith church being wee went in to see it	00	01	00

Another entry of this year relates to the return to Carlton of his afflicted brother :

	£	s.	d.
It. Given amongst the servants at Quousque when we fetched home my bro. Rich. Apr. the 28th 1664, when he had been there with my mother most of the winter before. .	00	13	06

Somewhat later in the year Sir Miles again visited Cowick Hall to learn the London news :

It. Given 1*s.* to S^r^ John Dawneys man at Snaith May the 10th 1664 when I went to visit him after his cominge from London from the Parliament.

Barnbow Hall, the seat of Sir Miles' mother's family, the Gascoignes, was about twenty miles distant from Carlton on the Leeds road. On October 14, 1668, Sir Miles distributed 9*s.* 6*d.* among the servants at Barnbow, 'when I stayed there 3 nights my unkle Gascoigne being then very sicke.' This uncle could not have been Sir Thomas, the second baronet, for he died in 1666 at the age of seventy. His three other Gascoigne uncles were all in Holy Orders. John was Abbot of Lambspring in Lower Saxony, Michael Gascoigne was a Benedictine monk, and Francis Gascoigne was a secular priest. It was probably Uncle Francis who was then ill at Barnbow. It may here be mentioned that Francis died ten years later. The household books for 1676 record the payment by Sir Miles to 'Katherine Gascoigne the Mother Prioris of the English Nuns at Paris' of £10 15*s.*, 'for ten giny pieces of gold which my Uncle Francis Gascoigne left with mee, who being since then dead, gave it to my cosin Katherine who he made his executrix.' The eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Gascoigne (the second baronet) was Anne, wife

of Sir Stephen Tempest of Broughton, who is afterwards mentioned in these papers. Katherine, the prioress, was the second daughter.

In the same year (1668) various other visits obtain incidental mention in Sir Miles' accounts :

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to my Lord Darcyes groome at Hornebye when I visited my lord	00	01	00
It. Given Captain Pockleys man when my wife and I went thither to visit him and his wife	00	01	00
It. Given to our ferry for helpeing our coatch over too and againe when my wife and I went to the buriall of Sir John Dawney's sonn Will	00	01	00
It. Given to my Ladye Yarbroughs gentlewoman Mrs. Margarett Holme May the 13th 1668 when my wife and I was there two nights at Snaith Hall and very kindly entertained	00	10	00

Sir Thomas Yarbrough, kt., of the Lincolnshire family, at that time held Snaith Hall, and was their next nearest neighbour after the Dawnays ; though, like the Dawnays, they were on the further side of the Aire. The vails to the servants on this occasion were considerable. Sir Thomas' man, as well as the butler and the 'man-cook' and the chamber-maid and the coachman, received *5s.* each, whilst *2s. 6d.* each was given to the under-cook and the two footboys. Sir Miles lost *15s.* at cards during those two evenings.

During the months of June and July, 1672, Sir Miles and Lady Stapleton, ten days being spent at Harrogate to drink the waters, which were then beginning to be of fashionable repute—

1672	£	s.	d.
It. Spent in chardges at York one night june the 14th 1672 when I went to my Lady Cholmleys funerall, haveing the coatch and foure horses wth two rideing horses besides. .	01	07	00
It. Spent in chardges at Harrigate when my wife and I, and Nan. Barber, with John Pullaine, John Taylor and Mat. Tillsley, and Will. Kendell the coatchman, when we went to drinke the spaw waters, haveing 4 coatch horses, and two rideing horses, wee layed at Mr. Hansitts from Tewsday the 18th day of june, till friday the 28th day of june 1672, and wee laid one night att Barmbow as we came home, our chardges in all for ourselves, and horses with advise of Doctors &c.	12	00	00
It. Given to the servants at S^{r} Tho. Whartons at Edlington july the 2nd 1672 where my wife and I layed one night when wee went to see him after his ladyes death . . .	00	13	06

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to Sr. Tho. Yarburgh's groom when I went to Snaith Hall to visitt his maister	00	00	06
It. Lost at cards at Cowicke to my cosen Gregory julye the 17th 1672 when my wife and I went to visitt Lady Dawney	00	10	06
It. Given then to my Lady Dawneys coatchman and footman .	00	03	00
It. Given to my Lady Yarburgh's coatchman and footman july the 18th 1672 when my wife and I went to visitt her at Snaith Hall and she carryed us to Heck and brought us backe to Carlton ferry in her coatch	00	03	00
It. Given at Thorpe to Captaine Pockleys man when my wife and I went thither to visitt them july 16th 1672 . . .	00	01	00
It. Spent at Knaresbrough july the 23rd 1672 when my wife and I went to see Sr. Tho. Osborne, and his Lady there ; wee went from Barmbow and returnd backe ther that night	00	02	06
It. Paid for our coatch horses and rideing horses two nights at Knarebrough july the 27th 1672 being the second time yt my wife and I went to Knarebrough, to see Sr. Tho. Osborne and his Ladye	01	00	00
It. Paid then for the mens chardges those two nights . . .	00	10	00

Visits paid in 1676 obtain the following notices in the household books :

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to Mrs. Ward my Ladye Yarburgh's midwife August the 2nd when I went to diner at Snaith Hall when the child was christened	00	05	00
Given to my God daughter Doctor Talbots childe	00	01	00
It. Spent in chardges for myselt two men and our horses August the 30th when I went with my brother Stapilton and my cosen Gascoigne into Lancahshire to see my cosen Houghton, cosen Shearburne and other friends there and wee were about a fortnight abroad	05	00	00
It. Paid to Mr. Thornton 3s. for a paire of cordevant gloves which I gave to Mr. Feild my Lady Danby'es gent. when she went with mee and carryed mee with her coatch and six horses to Bolton to my Lord Marquess of Winchesters where wee dined and called at Burton at Will. Wivells both goeing and comeing and came back to Beedall the same night Novemb. 4th 1676.			

John the fifth Marquess of Winchester was the great royalist who lost Basing House in the Civil Wars ; he was then residing at Bolton Castle. Burton is a hamlet in Aysgarth parish. William Wyvil was the younger brother of Sir Christopher Wyvil, Bart., M.P. for Richmond. Lady Danby's coachman on this occasion received from Sir Miles 5s. and the postillion 2s.

In 1678 Sir Miles stayed at Mr. Hamerton's at Borough Bridge on his way to Bedale. When at Bedale he dined at Lady Danby's at Thorpe, and at Lady Darcy's at Hornby. On his way back he gave 10*s.* to Mrs. Fairfax's nurse at York that nursed her child, and 2*s.* to Mrs. Fairfax's nurse 'that kept her when she lay in of her boy 3rd May, 1678.'

On July 23 of that year Sir Miles and his lady went in great state to York to dine with 'judge Bartye'; they had six horses in the coach and four outriders on saddle horses. They returned the same night, having incurred a charge of 7*s.* at the inn for their men and horses. Judge Bartye was Vere, fourth son of Montagu Earl of Lindsey and therefore nephew of Lady Stapleton; he was one of the barons of the exchequer in the time of Charles II., and one of the justices of the common pleas.

In the same year he dined at Sir John Boynton's and at Sir Thomas Yarbrough's, as we know from his presents to the servants.

Sir Miles was evidently a believer in the efficacy of waters, for in 1678, and on two or three subsequent occasions, he bathed at St. Mungo's Well on the way to Bedale, giving the well-keeper 1*s.* 6*d.*

In 1682 Sir Miles and Lady Stapleton, with their nephew Nicholas Earington, spent a month at Bedale. During that visit the marriage between his nephew and Mary Scroope of Danby was arranged. The particulars of expenditure are given in much detail, and contain a variety of interesting features relative to visits.

	£	s.	d.
Disbursed as followeth in our jorney to Beedall &c. my wife, selfe, nephew Erington, Ann Barber, John Pullaine, John Taylor, Miles Stephenson the foot boy, Dick. Peares the coatch-man, and Robin Litlewood the postillion, with six coatch horses and three rideing horses, June the 27th 1682.			
Inp. Paid June the 27th 1682 for familay at Selbye for our selves w^{ch} coatch and horses	00	03	06
It. Given amongst Mr. Fairfaxes servants at where we lay one night June 27th 1682	00	11	06
It. Paid for hay for the horses that night at York	00	04	06
It. Paid for corne for the horses that night	00	12	10
It. Paid for meat and drinke for the men that night	00	07	08
It. Given to the oastler and maid at Banks	00	01	06
It. Given to Mr. Tankards groom and butler at Whilsley where wee cald, June the 28th 1682	00	02	00

	£	s.	d.
It. Given then to his workman that shewed us his new building at Whilseley.&c.	00	01	00
It. Paid for meat and drinke at Millers at Rippon one night lying there, June 29th 1682	00	17	06
It. Paid for hay and grasse for our horses at Rippon that night.	00	07	00
It. Paid for corne for our horses at Rippon that night . . .	00	11	08
It. Given to the oastler and maid at Rippon	00	02	08
It. Given to the ringers at Beedall June 29th 1682	00	05	00
It. Given amongst the servants at Mr. Scroops at Danbye where I layed one night, July the 2nd 1682, when he and I concluded of the marriage between my nephew Erington and his daughter Mary &c.	00	06	00
It. Spent in ale wth Geo. and Tho. Foothergill and others . .	00	00	09
It. Given to Doctor Samways maid when my wife and I and severall others dyned with the Doctor, July the 4th 1682	00	02	06
It. Paid for a quire of paper at Beedall	00	00	06
It. Paid for 4 bushells of oats at Beedall for the horses, July the 6th 1682	00	10	00
It. Paid then for two bushells of peaze	00	07	00
It. Paid then to Geo. Binseley for hay and grasse for nine horses a week or ten dayes	02	00	00
It. Paid for ale for the men at Holms	00	03	00
It. Paid for some few meales meat for men there	00	02	00
It. Paid for grease for the coatch.	00	01	08
It. Paid to my cosen Mary Darcye July the 6th 1682, for a weeks dyet for my wife, selfe, Nick. Erington and Nan Barber at . . . a weeke at Beedall	01	08	00
It. Paid more to Mrs. Mary Darcye for a weekes dyet for Pullaine, John Taylor, Miles Stephenson, Dick. Peares and Robine Litlewood at 4*s.* a peece	01	00	00
It. Spent in ale at Beedall	00	03	02
It. Given to Mr. Peirs boy y$^{t.}$ guided me the way from Lazenby to Riplin July the 11th when I went to see the west end of the park w^{ch} Mr. Hudleston farmes	00	01	00
It. Given to Mr. Rookbys man at Morton where I called as I went.	00	01	00
It. Given to Major Hudlestons man that opened us the gate to goe through dere parke to view the west end of dere parke	00	01	00
It. Paid for meat and drinke for my selfe Geo. Binsley and John Taylor one night at Barney Castle	00	06	02
It. Paid for grasse and corne for 3 horses y$^{t.}$ night	00	02	00
It. Given to the oastler and maid at Barney Castle	00	01	00
It. Given to Geo. Meynills groome at Dalton where I dyned as I came home	00	01	00
It. Given amongst Mr. Peirs his servants at Lazenby where my wife and I and our company laid a weeke or ten dayes .	02	15	00
It. Spent at Grace Lambs at Beedall wth younge Mr. Peirs, James Thornton and Geo. Binseley	00	05	00
It. Given to the fidlers at Danbye at Mr. Scroops when my wife and I was there 3 nights July 28th 1682	00	06	00

	£	s.	d.
It. Given then amongst Mr. Scroops servants at Danby when my wife and I and all our company had laid there 3 nights, July the 20th 1682	02	19	00
It. Paid more to Mrs. Mary Darcy for dyet for my selfe, wife, and our servants, from Thursday the 20th of July, till Saturday the 22nd of July 1682, that wee came from thence to Yorke	01	00	00
It. Given then to Mrs. Darcys maids	00	07	06
It. Given then to Mrs. Thorntons maid	00	00	06
It. Paid for ale at Beedall at Nicholsons	00	00	08
It. Given to John Holms maid where servants laid	00	01	00
It. Paid John Taylors chardges at Beedall	00	00	06
It. Paid for a wash ball	00	00	01
It. Paid for ale at Beedall &c.	00	02	06
It. Paid for washing our linen at Beedall	00	02	00
It. Given to S^{r} Rich. Grahams groome at Norton, July the 20th 1682, when my wife and I went to the Christening of his childe there	00	02	00
It. Paid for mending the port mantle at Beedall	00	00	06
It. Given to the high Sherriffs porter at Yorke	00	03	06
It. Given to the high Sherriffs butler	00	02	06
It. Given to Mrs. Watkinson butler at Yorke	00	02	06
It. Paid for wine and ale at Mr. Banks in Spurryergate where we layed at Yorke.	00	04	03
It. Paid to Mrs. Banks for dyet a weeke at Yorke for my wife, selfe, Nich. Eringtons, Nan Barber and other servants, July the 29th 1682	02	04	00
It. Paid then to Mrs. Banks for our lodgeings a weeke	00	15	00
It. Given then to Mrs. Banks maids	00	03	06
It. Given then to Mr. Banks man	00	01	00
It. Paid to Mrs. Banks for writeing a bond w^{ch} I seald to my cosen Gasc. Aug. the 1st 1682 and payable July 31st 1683	00	01	00
It. Given to John Pullaine towards his expences in Yorke July 27th 1682	00	10	00
It. Given then to Dick. Pears for his expences	00	03	06
It. Paid for grass, hay and corne for our coatch horses and rideing horse at Banks in Castlegate in the Assizes at Yorke, July 29th 1682	01	19	02
It. Paid for meat and drinke for the servants at Yorke in the Assize weeke at Yorke at Banks in Castlegate, July 29th 1682	00	16	08
It. Paid more Dick. Pears chardges at Yorke	00	06	00
It. Given to the oastler and maid at Banks.	00	02	06
It. Paid for grease for the coatch at Yorke	00	01	00
It. Paid for ferrilay (?) for the liverys at Appleton y went to meet the high Sherriff	00	00	04
It. Paid for mending my sword at Yorke	00	02	06
It. Paid for meat and drinke for Robin Litlewood at York and " for John Taylor &c.	00	02	10

	£	s.	d.
It. Paid for a gross of corks at Yorke.	00	02	03
It. Given to the porter at Yorke Castle	00	00	06
It. Paid to the ferryman at Selby for coatch and horses comeing home July 29th 1682	00	03	06
It. Paid more ferrilay for rideing horses	00	01	03
It. Paid for removeing two horse shoues	00	00	02

Soon after their return they paid a brief visit to the seat of Sir Thomas Vavasour, at Hazelwood Park near Tadcaster. Other visits are also recorded in August and September.

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to my Lady Vavasours servants at Hazlewood Aug. 3rd 1682 when my wife and I went to her and dyned there and came back the same day	00	02	00
It. Given to my Lord Downy coatchman and footman Aug. the 5th 1682 when my wife and I went to visit at Cowick	00	03	00
It. Given to Mr. Ramsdons groome when my wife and I went to Hatefeild and dyned there Sept. the 10th 1682. . .	00	01	00
It. Given to Henry Bell our ferryman for carrying over the coatch when my wife and I went and dyned at Hatefeild the 11th of September and at Cowick the 12th of September	00	03	06
It. Given amongst the servants at Reeton September the 15th 1682 when I went to wait of my Lord Lattimer and Lord Dunblaine and missed them, but lay there that night, Pullaine and Dick with me	00	09	00

The two last entries relative to dining away from home occur in 1702.

	£	s.	d.
It. Given to John Reynolds servants when my wife and I dyned there jan. 1702	00	03	00
It. Given to Mrs. Champneys servants at Quousque when my wife and I dyned there January 14th 1702	00	03	00

J. CHARLES COX.

(To be continued)

THE PRESCRIPTIVE USAGE OF ARMS

THERE is probably no proposition which has a more infuriating effect on the apostles of commercial heraldry than the statement that the user of a coat of arms, belonging to no other house, by a family of established social position for a period of several generations confers on those who use them a right to have them recognized. It elicits shrieks of abuse from the leaders of this new crusade. 'Illegal,' 'spurious,' 'bogus,' 'insane' are among the terms applied to such coats as these by 'X'; and his indignant scorn is echoed, of course, by Mr. Fox-Davies in a way that would arouse the envy even of such a 'quick-change artist' as Signor Ugo Biondi.

We will first select some gems of vehemence from that pseudonymous work, *The Right to Bear Arms*, by 'X.' 'For the sake of the mistaken ones who, for one reason or another, write to uphold the use of spurious and illegal arms' (pp. 163–4), the author is good enough to explain 'that arms only originating from an unauthorized source, or in the invention or imagination of a man *or of his ancestors*,[1] are illegal, void of authority, and bogus' (p. 116); and he is moved to indignation by 'the insane ideas of some heraldic writers, who glibly plead and advocate a kind of modern "prescriptive" right' (p. 111). Let us for an instant drop the curtain; it rises again on Mr. Fox-Davies proclaiming *ex cathedra*:

> In my preface to the revised edition of 'Fairbairn' I said, 'There is no such thing as the "prescriptive right to arms," as to which one heraldic shopkeeper with whom I have come in contact talks glibly; it exists solely in his conversation. Others of his persuasion have other little plausibilities equally corrupt which they bring into prominence.' . . . I have had no reason whatsoever to in any way alter this opinion (*sic*).

So intense, it will be seen, is his contempt for the 'prescriptive right to arms' that even his infinitive is split with scorn.

Now Sir George Sitwell, in the notable article which he contributed to this Review, has brought down, in his own

[1] This passage should be noted, for the italics are the author's own.

words, the 'fanciful edifice' that 'X' has erected 'in ruins about his ears,' and has claimed that by 'the law of England at the present hour any subject may lawfully assume arms of his own mere notion.'[1] It is needless for us to add to his learned argument on the subject, but we propose to approach it from a different standpoint, namely that of the heralds themselves, and to show what was their official attitude to arms for which there existed no other right but that which was bestowed by user.

Even the most impassioned opponent of the view that user confers a right to the recognition of a coat of arms is forced to admit, however awkwardly, and in however confused a manner, that the heralds themselves, at those visitations to which he is ever looking back with fond and loving gaze, did recognize and did confirm those arms which he fiercely denounces as 'spurious,' 'bogus' and 'illegal.' And with that admission there falls to the ground his whole contention that no arms which have not been originally granted by the Crown through its authorized officers-of-arms can or should be recognized. Let us quote his own words as to the practice of the heralds at those visitations in which is found 'the most crucial incident in the history of British armory' (p. 87):

> The definite production of a specific grant for the arms in question was not necessarily insisted upon by the Heralds, who allowed and confirmed arms *as borne by right*[2] when the right to these was established to their satisfaction.
>
> What proofs the Heralds required the production of to establish this legal right I am utterly unable to say, nor can I find that any one else is at the present time exactly aware upon what lines the Heralds worked. One can only surmise. But I fancy it can be taken for granted that all arms shown to have been in use prior to the battle of Agincourt were accepted as then existing by right without question.[3]

We shall be able to enlighten the writer, who would have us accept him as an authority on 'the right to bear arms,' as to what he is 'utterly unable' to tell us. Meanwhile we may observe that his theory that 'prescription . . . meant use at or before the date of the battle of Agincourt' (1415)[4] will be shown to be wildly wrong. But let us continue the quotation:

> In the case of less important families using arms which in no way interfered with the rights of other people, one's experience leads one to suppose that the claimants were treated more easily and the arms admitted (that is, they were recorded and confirmed with little or no alteration) *upon the strength of*

[1] pp. 84, 87 above. [2] The italics are our own.
[3] *The Right to Bear Arms*, pp. 87, 98. [4] Ibid. p. 108.

sage for a certain period.[1] What *this needful period of usage* [1] was none of my inquiries have so far obtained for me any definite knowledge, etc., etc.[2]

The writer however hastens to add, in his own graceful English, that as to the arms then 'registered and admitted by virtue of sufficiently ancient usage, there were precious few (*sic*) of that character in existence.'

Now, putting aside the writer's efforts to gloss and explain away the facts, what have we seen him forced to admit? He has admitted that after 'usage for a certain period,' a 'needful period of usage,' arms which had no other sanction *acquired a right* in the heralds' eyes to be recognized by them as valid. To insist that until they were so recognized they were 'bogus, not merely unrecorded; the arms were illegal' (p. 100), is merely to throw dust in our eyes. His own quotations show that—as indeed we should presume—the heralds recognized that a certain user conferred an actual 'right.'

This then was the practice of the heralds in the days of those famous visitations, the discontinuance of which, in 'X's' eyes, 'is the saddest thing one can find to chronicle in the history of British armory' (p. 108). Let us hope therefore that he will yet be converted to the practice of the heralds in those palmy days when visitations were, and will publicly recant his heresies with his violent but impotent abuse of those who take their stand upon the practice of that palmy time.

Why the heralds have taken on themselves to repudiate the practice of their own predecessors it appears impossible to say. That they have done so, however, is notorious. As 'X' puts it, with his usual impertinence:

> When a family have been illegally making use of arms for some time, and are then, for some reason or other, induced or required to place their armorial matters on a legal footing, and a patent of arms is obtained under the hands and seals of the Kings of Arms, the coat of arms which has previously been in use is never granted to the person intact.

The words 'legal' and 'illegally' are of course mere 'bluff,' for the writer knows as well as we do that there is no law in existence forbidding the use of arms. But if we are to use such words in connexion with arms at all, should they not rightly be applied to the usurpation of the heralds, who now 'illegally' reject that right to arms by user which their predecessors duly recognized?

[1] The italics are our own. [2] pp. 98, 99.

With these introductory remarks we pass to an interesting and important paper, apparently from the pen of that well-known writer on genealogy and heraldry, Sir Harris Nicolas, which appeared in his *Retrospective Review* three-quarters of a century ago. It deserves quotation *in extenso* :

On this occasion . . . we shall . . . introduce a letter from Sir William Dugdale on a 'prescriptive right' to arms . . . Before inserting the letter to which we allude, a few remarks are necessary in explanation of its importance. With the same freedom with which we shall discuss every question that may come before us, we must speak of the present practice of the College of Arms with respect to allowing the right to armorial ensigns ; and whilst we are unfortunate enough to question the justice of that practice, we are assured that we shall be credited by its intelligent members for having agitated it with no hostile feelings. On the contrary we believe that the opinions of some of those Officers on the subject are strictly in unison with our own ; and we are convinced that the admission of the principle for which we contend would do more to benefit that institution than any other measure it could adopt. It is known to most of our heraldic readers that the right to armorial bearings is derived in two ways—a descent from a man entitled to them, or a Grant from the Kings of Arms. Of the former, the Heralds allow of no other evidence than their own records, which consist either of their Visitations, that commenced in 1530, and ceased in 1687, though of some counties the last were made in 1620 ; or of Grants. Thus, whatever may be the antiquity of a man's family, or the proofs he may possess that his ancestors used arms, unless they are recorded in the Heralds' College, he must submit to the same process to establish his right as the veriest *parvenu* that has just emerged from a counter. There is at least moral, if not legal, injustice, in such a regulation, which those who are acquainted with the manner in which entries were made at the Visitations will at once understand ; for absence from the county, caprice, pride, minority, illness, and several other causes, might operate to prevent an obedience being paid to the summons of the visiting Herald. But we contend that, where an individual can show, by indisputable evidence, that his family have borne arms for several centuries, and cases may occur in which such proof can be adduced from a period long before the institution of the Heralds' College itself, he ought to be allowed, as a matter of right, to have those arms *confirmed* to him, and to the descendants of the first ancestor to whom they can be traced. To subject a man so situated to the indignity of receiving a grant of arms, to place him on a level with those who know not the names of their grandfathers, to fix upon armorial bearings which have been borne for centuries the impression of modern manufacture and perhaps too to 'spiflicate' them with all the bedaubery of modern invention, is both an injury and an insult. Should he, however, be created a baronet or receive the first class of the order of the Bath, he has no choice ; since, to be eligible to either, he must be entitled to coat armour ; and thus whilst he is honoured by his sovereign he is dishonoured in his own opinion, by being compelled to undergo the process of being made, according to the statutes of chivalry, a gentleman. We know numerous persons so situated who would willingly have their arms confirmed or registered, but who properly shrink with horror from submitting to the degradation of a modern gift. The opinion which we have long entertained is, that where a

man can show that his ancestors have borne arms for a certain number of years, for instance, from the accession of Charles the Second, such usage ought to be held as sufficient proof of his right to them. Being impressed with this conviction we were much gratified in finding evidence that such was once the practice: and that too under the most distinguished of the heraldic monarchs—Sir William Dugdale. The following letter shows that about 1668 the College had agreed to consider the usage of arms from the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, i.e. for the preceding hundred years, as a prescriptive right to them; a decision founded upon the soundest principles of equity and justice. When, and by what authority, we would venture to ask, was this principle abandoned? Has every Garter king of arms the power to dispense with the existing laws of the College, and to make others? And hence, are the public subjected to the caprice of every temporary occupier of the throne of St. Bennet's Hill? Surely Garter king of arms cannot possess more despotic powers than are vested in the sovereign of the empire; but, be this as it may, it is really desirable that the laws of the College of Arms should be certain and invariable. We mean no disrespect to the present Garter, or to any of his immediate predecessors, when we say that the abandonment of a regulation laid down by such a man as Dugdale reflects as little credit upon their judgment as it was unfair to the community at large, and it appears to us that the public are entitled to be governed by regulations on this, and all other similar subjects, which can neither be altered nor abrogated by the individuals who from time to time may succeed to the supremacy of the Corporation of Heralds. Potentates of every description are, we know, not very likely to adopt suggestions, but we take the liberty of recommending it to the earnest attention of the Kings and other members of the College of Arms, to advocate the true interest of which our pen will ever be cheerfully devoted, to recur again to the practice sanctioned and adopted by Sir William Dugdale; to fix upon a period when the usage of arms shall constitute a prescriptive right in the descendants, and as, in 1668, the preceding hundred years was deemed sufficient, let the right now be held to commence before the accession of Charles the Second; but the most rigid proofs should be required of such usage. If however the arms then borne are notoriously those of another family whose ensigns are recorded at an earlier date than the claimant can establish them to have been used by his ancestors a distinction might be adopted in such cases, and which, to avoid disputes, should be always the same; whilst the fee ought not to be a tithe of the expense of a grant. By this practice we are convinced the funds of the College would be materially benefited, and justice would be rendered to many families who now join the common herd in abusing an institution which, whether from its innate respectability or the private characters and high literary attainments of a large majority of its members, merits an elevated place in public esteem.

It is singular that this letter is not inserted in Mr. Hampers' recent Collection of Dugdale's Correspondence, but from a note to p. 367 it seems that the editor unfortunately trusted to the opinion of some friend on its merits, who reported that it and some others, of which we shall give extracts, 'were merely on business connected with his heraldic visitations,' he being probably totally ignorant of its great value in illustration of the subject which has induced us to insert it, though it is otherwise of at least equal importance to many which occur in that volume.

Lansdown MS. 870 [fo. 88]

To Mr. William Horsley

Mr. Horsley,—

I did receive your letter, dated May 30th, with that sume of 2*l.* 5*s.* which was from Sir Miles Stapleton, of Weighill, since which I wrote you by the post to let you know so much. As for Mr. Raynes,[1] if I can find anything in our books at the office to justifye the arms you drew with his descent, I will do it; but I have allready perused some books and can find nothing out; therefore it will be requisite that he do look over his own evidences for some seals of arms, for perhaps it appears in them; *and if so and that they have used it from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reigne, or about that time, I shall then allowe thereof, for our directions are limiting us so to do, and not a shorter prescription of usage.*

I hear nothing as yet from your brother at Newcastle as to those descents, and the money which he promised to send before the end of this last term. I think I shall not go from hence before tomorrow fortnight.

Having an opportunity and this bearer, I have now sent you a trick of the arms which are entered in my visitation of Yorkshire, wherein you will see which are not yet proved; such other as I shall enter, I shall send you a trick of hereafter.

I pray you present my most hearty service to worthy Sir Thomas Herbert; here is nothing of concequence to impart to him, otherwise I would have written to him myself, so wishing you good health, I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

Will. Dugdale.

London, 15 *Junii*, 1668.

Let us first see what Dugdale does. He blows to atoms the ridiculous pretence that 'Arms are good or they are bad as they are recorded or unrecorded.'[2] For he is ready, on evidence of user, to 'allow' arms of which he could find no trace at the college. He further tells us what 'X' was 'utterly unable' to discover, namely the 'prescription of usage' required to give a right to recognition. The 'Agincourt' myth goes by the board, and we discover that the 'needful period of usage' was *under a hundred years*! Again, he writes *after* the third and last visitation,[3] a fact which forms a pleasing comment on 'X's' reckless assertion:

It is a safe conclusion that after the end of the third Visitation the whole of England had been swept clean, and that every coat of arms continuously in use, properly or improperly, during the period[4] had been by then either allowed or condemned. Since the Visitations it has been absolutely impossible

[1] See for this family Poulson's *Holderness*, ii. 45, 270.

[2] *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 108.

[3] That of Yorkshire by himself in 1665–6 (see Dr. Marshall's *Notes on the Visitations*). Horsley was a herald-painter at York.

[4] Reckoned at 1580–1666 on p. 87.

to obtain, and utterly useless to put forward, any prescriptive right to arms whatsoever.[1]

'And yet,' in his elegant phrase, 'there are some silly fools' who take this trash for gospel.[2]

We have now heard what Dugdale has to say as to the 'insane' idea that 'prescription of usage' can confer a right to the recognition of a coat of arms. We are vehemently assured by Mr. Fox-Davies that the officers of the college are 'the sole *authority* upon matters of arms.'[3] Of these officers the chief is Garter; and of all Garters the most famous, beyond doubt, is Dugdale. If then it comes to weighing authorities, we may say that Dugdale's relative position to 'X' or Mr. Fox-Davies is—as Rudyard Kipling, we think, has said of an admiral's relation to a middy—'that of the Almighty to a blackbeetle.'

It is a matter for plain speaking when families of social position, whose arms would be sanctioned by Dugdale himself, require, in the words of 'X,' to be insulted 'in black and white,' or are denounced by Mr. Fox-Davies as 'bogus pretenders' for using them. The readers of *The Ancestor* at least will now be able to gauge, in the light of Dugdale's words, the value of this bluster. All this wild denunciation of 'bogus' and 'illegal' coats, all these silly attempts to cast dust in our eyes, cannot obscure the grim fact that, if they enjoy the 'prescription of usage' given by a user of a hundred years, they would be recognized by Dugdale as valid.

The quibble that such arms were valid 'not by virtue or such usage, but on the strength of their being recorded, or of their confirmation at the visitations,'[4] although it is made the most of by 'X,' is merely tantamount to saying that the whole trouble is caused by the heralds themselves repudiating their own historic practice and encroaching on the right conferred by 'user.' If they admitted that right, as we have seen they used to do, they would record and confirm such arms at the present day as can show 'prescription of usage.' The principle at stake is precisely the same now as in Dugdale's day, namely that a certain period of usage gives to arms for which *no original grant by the Crown or its officers can be shown* a valid *right* to recognition. This principle, as is well known, is still acted on in Ireland.

[1] *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 108. [2] Ibid. p. 163.
[3] *Armorial Families*, p. xxx. [4] *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 99.

Ulster Kings of Arms have had the power (and have continually and continuously exercised it) of confirming by patent arms which have been in use, but for which usage no sufficient legal[1] sanction or authority can be shown. Whether or not the required length of usage has always been the same I am unable to say, but at the present time Ulster King of Arms will issue a confirmation, under his hand and seal, to any one within his jurisdiction, of any arms in use when these can be shown to have been continuously borne for at least three generations, or else for at least one hundred years.[2]

Here we have the very same period, roughly speaking a century, as that required by Dugdale to confer by 'prescription of usage' a right to confirmation. Why then cannot the College of Arms revert to its own former practice, which not only still prevails in Ireland, but is actually praised by 'X' himself?[3] We do not even suggest that it should only require proof of user for a century or for three generations. Let it, if it likes, make the period half as long again. A proved 'user' of a century and a half or of five generations would, in our opinion, be a fair limit, and we would call attention to the point that it would not dissuade a *novus homo* from taking out his grant, as no man would adopt a coat for himself if his family could only secure its confirmation a century and a half hence!

That such a reform would greatly strengthen the position and authority of the college needs no demonstration. It would not only enlist the sympathy and support of families of established social position who now look on it, with much justice, as catering only for the *novus homo*, but it would enable it, with a better grace and with infinitely more chance of success, to insist upon all arms receiving the *cachet* of its sanction and to suppress the widespread 'pirating' of arms, to which, as inflicting a wrong on individuals rather than on itself, it seems so strangely indulgent. Indeed, it may fairly be said that the man who usurps the arms of a family with which he has no connexion actually receives at its hands more favourable treatment than he who inherits or adopts a coat distinct from any other. For the former, as has often been pointed out, is actually encouraged in his imposture by granting him a coat closely resembling that which he has wrongfully usurped. 'But that is another story'—to which we may have to recur.

[1] i.e. official; law has nothing to do with the matter.

[2] *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 153.

[3] 'The fees upon a confirmation amount to very little . . . That this opportunity of confirmation exists in Ireland for those within the jurisdiction of Ulster King of Arms, I think cannot be too widely known or taken advantage of, etc.' (ibid. pp. 157, 158).

THE GENTILITY OF RICHARD BARKER

OUT of the records of the court of Star Chamber we draw Richard Barker of Hoo next East, Dereham in Norfolk. The artless tale of Richard's gentility, and how it fared under the hands of twelve Norfolk jurymen may serve to carry a stage further the inquisition into the meaning and value of this our word 'gentleman,' to which Sir George Sitwell has held us so searching a lantern. A moving story, too, as it unfolds itself in the best legal English of the Hundred of Launditch.

Our first scene shall be laid in the village of Hoo. It is the twenty-third of October in the thirty-fourth year of King Henry VIII., of 'most dread memory,' as with some reason the scriveners of later reigns described that hasty-tempered sovereign, and the first document of our bundle is the bill of complaint of Richard Barker, 'gentylman.' His complaint does not want for force and clearness, although for the seasoned student of such 'bills' the suspicion that we have here but one side of a case springs up and marches with the reading. One Thomas Warner of East Dereham, yeoman, the baily of Launditch Hundred, was in Hoo on that October day. To him came Christopher Spurne, labourer, Robert Pedder, Richard Harecroft and some eight others who 'in ryottouse maner assembeled to the seyde Thomas Warner as to theyre pryncypall capteyne wyth staves and clobbes.' With great force and arms riotously so assembled did they enter in at the gate adjoining the mansion place of Richard Barker and made a great assault and affray upon the said Richard; and Thomas Warner, that ungentle baily, with a staff which he had in his hands, beat and wounded Anne, the wife of Richard Barker, so grievously that she was put in great danger of her life. A perilous example, says Richard Barker the gentleman, to the other riotous and misruled persons in like case offending against the king's peace.

It is in the nature of Star Chamber suits that such a bill should be countered with a sweeping traverse. The good baily of Launditch is ready enough with his answer. He exhibits the due surprise of a man injured shamefully and

unawares: the etiquette of these courts asked no less of a defendant. Could any answer be needed to a bill so slanderously conceived and manifestly set forth to the only intent and purpose to put him to wrongful costs, trouble and expenses without good or just ground or cause? So much of the answer we may imagine the practised scrivener will have set upon the broad parchment whilst the baily is choosing his first words. For the declaration of the truth the baily braces himself to answer the slander.

He is in no manner guilty. The sovereign lord to whom bill and answer are addressed will remember that on the day of the affray, according to the king's own commandment, general processions were made through the whole diocese of Norwich, as through other dioceses, for the preservation and prosperous proceedings of the King's Grace's army then entered into Scotland, to which processions, by the way, we may no doubt attribute the rout of the Scots at Solway Moss in the month following. The defendant had left his house to go in procession, being, as he recalls, in that state of almost unnatural innocence peculiar to defendants, and also in God's peace and the king's. In such meet mood for works of piety he is going down by the king's highway towards the parish church of Hoo, alone, without any manner of weapon, when he casts his eye upon the yard of the slanderous Barker, and there 'sees and perceives' twenty-four of his own cattle which have no manner of business in Barker's yard. The baily's dovelike humour, mark you, is in no wise broken by the sight. In right peaceable manner he enters the yard and called to the complainant, 'axyng him how his cattel came into his yard.' There is no sufficient answer from Barker, who disappears into his house in great haste, and therefore the baily goes toward the cattle to drive them away, and here for the first time he has occasion to speak of that staff or club so feelingly alluded to by the injured Anne Barker. In Thomas Warner's word it becomes a light thing, a mere switch, a little rod, and we may wonder how the famous stone, described by a prosecutor's witness as 'the size of a lump of chalk,' was measured by the witnesses for the defence. With this innocent twig he is urging his cattle from the yard, when Richard Barker, whom we take for a man of deeds rather than of words, reappears in his doorway with his bent bow in hand and looses an arrow at the baily. Thomas Warner is careless of his

reputation for courage: he confesses that he was 'astonished,' and admits that he 'wente and conveyed hymself in all the haste that he myghte oute of the daunger of eny more shotyng.' But another danger was close at his back. Anne Warner, forgetting that reserve of manner which should adorn the wife of a 'gentylman,' came suddenly upon him, and 'wyth a grette ironne malle gave hym a grette stroke in the nekke,' so that he was like to have fallen to the ground. The worm turns—Thomas Warner's innocent processional humour fails him for a moment. We can sympathize but cannot excuse, when, perceiving that the said Anne would have stricken him again, he did strike the said Anne upon the shoulders with the 'sweye' that he had in his hand to drive the cattle. This is the end of the affray, protests the baily. The other defendants come up, weaponless and innocent as himself, and Christopher Sporne, his servant, drives the cattle away without more hindrance from the unneighbourly family of the Barkers.

With Thomas Warner, with the twenty-four cattle and with the grievous injuries suffered by Anne Barker's shoulders, we have no more concern, although doubtless it is an action arising out of the affray of Barker's yard which Thomas Warner brings against Richard Barker at Norwich before the justices of the King's Bench that same Michaelmas term.

Our next document is another bill of complaint in the Court of Star Chamber set forth by Richard Barker, gentleman. Thomas Warner in bringing his action at Norwich named him by the name of 'Richard Barker of Hoo next Estderham yoman,' unto which the complainant made answer that at the time of such action 'he was gentleman and so ever sythens called, reputed and taken,' and so traversed the matter. Thereupon Barker and Warner were at issue, and a jury was summoned to appear. This jury, we may note, was summoned from the classes of gentry and yeomen, the names of the panel being as follows: William Lambe, gent., Hugh Hastynges, gent., Edmund Dogett, gent., William Smalpece, gent., Edmund Gogney, William Cook, Richard Wright, John Hobson, Robert Seman, Nicholas Barham, William Spany and Thomas Cowper. To this jury the complainant, in his own opinion, showed sufficient and lawful matter, as well of record as otherwise, to prove his case, but the jury, alas! nothing regarding their oath nor the evidence before them, gave their verdict 'that the said Richard Barker was yoman and not gentleman,' and this,

as Richard protests, contrary to all truth, right and conscience.

Follows then the answer of William Lambe, gentleman, and his fellow jurymen. Their twelve minds, it is needless to say, are agreed that the bill is to the only intent to put them to wrongful suit, vexation, troubles, costs and expenses, and for none other cause.

For an answer they admit that in Michaelmas term, 1542, Thomas Warner named the complainant as 'yoman,' and that they were empanelled to try out whether this addition was a true one. The complainant's case for his gentility and their reasoning upon this case are then set forth by them at length, and the account is certainly of the rarest interest to all who are studying English social history of this time when the old order was stubbornly making way for the new.

The complainant gave in evidence these matters following:

First, he rehearsed that long before the suit he was servant to the late Duke of Buckingham—since attainted of high treason—and was steward of his courts.

To this the jury reply that they assuredly knew that the said Richard Barker was never servant nor attendant upon the said duke, neither was he steward of his courts. It seems possible that had Richard proved such service the jurymen might have given some weight to the contention, for such service was at that time generally reckoned the service of a gentleman and an honourable one. But the alleged falsity of the plea was enough, and it is determined to be no proof of the issue.

Secondly, Richard Barker urged that he must needs be a gentleman, for that he had married the sister of Sir Walter Luke, knight, late deceased. Of this match we have no proof, although it was doubtless as Richard Barker states, and the jury does not question the fact. Nothing is known of the origin of Sir Walter Luke. His name is a rare one in Norfolk, and he was a new man, the heralds' pedigree of his family beginning with himself and ignoring his sister Anne, the wielder of the iron mall. He advanced himself in the world by a judicious marriage with Anne, the heir of John Launceleyn of Launceleyn in Cople, a Bedfordshire squire. This lady had been the nurse of Henry VIII., from whom she had divers life annuities out of the Exchequer. Her husband became a judge of the King's Bench, being knighted in August of the year before the affair of Barker's yard, and may be allowed some share of fame as the ancestor of Sir Samuel Luke, the 'valiant Mamluke' of

Butler's epic. He died in 1544, which gives us a point for dating these undated Star Chamber proceedings, and lies with his wife under a brass. But, brother-in-law of Richard Barker or no, the alliance weighed nothing with William Lambe and his judicious fellows—'the which matter these defendants little esteem'—for that the marriage had by the said complainant with a gentlewoman could not make him a gentleman.

At the third and last proof of gentility produced by Richard Barker our attention is stayed. His last card was without doubt played with a certain assurance. Richard Barker was a gentleman because 'the heroldes at armes of thys realme had grawnted and gyven unto hym armes that ys to saye a hunde barkyng stondyng in a shyld of [*blank*].' Here was a question for a jury box, with four country gentlemen in the front bench. The heralds at arms of this realm were busily putting about their novel doctrine that gentility went not by the birth, rank or standing of a man, but was a condition of the blood of the bearers of such shields of arms as were recognizable in the scanty registers of the Heralds Office. Above all, the new doctrine insisted that gentility was a purchasable thing, which might however be bought only of the heralds at arms, who would sell it 'good chepe.' In Richard Barker then we have a purchaser of such 'tokens of gentility,' the warranty for which he brings confidently into court. Mark how his new purchase, the 'hound barking,' is viewed by the old gentry whom it should make his loving fellows.

The first impression which this impressive document makes upon the jury is, sooth to say, a mirthful one—'the which conysaunce althowe yt myght perchaunce bryng to remembraunce the name of Barker yet the said defendauntes as men not sene in blasyng of armes dyd gyve therby ther jugement the said compleynant shuld have rether ben made a esquier then gentylman.'

Putting their heavy Norfolk wit aside the jury debate the evidence. They remember of their own knowledge that the father of the said complainant all his life exercised for the sustentation of his living the mystery and occupation of 'a turner of bollys and maker of treen dysshes ladelles and potledes.' His ancestors also, his uncles, brethren and kinsfolk, although they were right honest poor folks, yet none of them ever enterprised the name or degree of a gentleman, and were contented to be taken and reputed of the common poor

sort. The complainant, to the mind of the jury, for the continuance of his living was not like to be compared to the leading of the estate of a gentleman, nor yet to the honest sort of a yeoman. On these considerations the jury grounded their verdict, for the further justifying of which they add that divers were present at the verdict that did believe that the father of the said complainant did gain more in one year by his unfeigned mystery of a 'boller' than the said complainant hath done in half his life by his usurped name of gentleman.

Because of the great destruction of the books of the Court of Star Chamber we can never learn the result of Richard Barker's suit against the jury, but here, arising out of a chance medley of neighbours, we have this precious record of the opinion of twelve men of the middle rank concerning the social value of the purchase of a shield of arms. Their opinion may outweigh in value a thousand of the preposterous claims which the bemused pedants were beginning to make for the objects of their worship, claims which would be eagerly welcomed when a new nobility then upspringing from obscurity should be glad to recognize in their new shields a definition of their gentleness not to be gainsaid.

Here at least we have the findings of common sense and equity. This Barker, reasons the jury, is known to us all. His claim to have been steward of a duke's manor is a lying story. That the brother of scolding Anne Barker, for whom the cuckingstool waits, has married the king's nurse, and is a judge and a knight therefore, is not to the purpose. Sir George Sitwell, a knight and baronet who shall come after us, will show that our fathers reckoned a man a gentleman if he were of free birth. It may be so; for us a gentleman is at the least one to be recognized as such, one who in his port and carriage, in his estate and manner of living, is known for a gentleman. This Barker comes of the baser sort, and we do not perceive that he has bettered his father's condition. To what purpose then does he flourish before us the coloured ticket of a boughten coatarmour, and how shall such a matter change his manifest rank which is barely a yeoman's. Therefore this Barker is no gentleman, as we stand by our verdict, let his hound bark never so loudly.

What more reasonable verdict could be found were another such jury empanelled to-day on such a plea of an Armorial Gent?

OSWALD BARRON.

THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY AND THE GOWRIE ARMS

A CURIOUS point of heraldry contributes to the darkness which veils the Gowrie conspiracy of August 5, 1600. William, Earl of Gowrie, on May 4, 1584, was charged, among other offences, as 'challenging that honour to be of his Highness's (the King's) blood,' to which he merely replied that he was 'as near in sibness' as his accuser, the Earl of Arran (James Stewart, a Stewart of Ochiltree).[1] There was clearly some royal jealousy about this claim of royal kindred. Gowrie was the husband of Dorothea Stewart, a daughter apparently of Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, third husband of Margaret Tudor, wife of James IV. It is impossible that Dorothea, Lady Gowrie, should have been the daughter of Margaret Tudor, but it has been conjecturally suggested that she was really the daughter, not of Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, by a later marriage, but of a son of his by Margaret Tudor, a son who fell at Pinkie. King James' obvious relationship to the Ruthvens was on the side of his father Darnley, whose grandfather was Archibald, Earl of Angus, while the Gowrie who was executed in 1584 was James' first cousin. But if this first Earl of Gowrie's wife was really of Tudor blood, her son, the Gowrie who fell in the Gowrie conspiracy of 1600, was of kin in that way to James and to Elizabeth. Some such idea may have aroused ambition in so young a man, only twenty-two at his death.

Now on June 22, 1609, Ottavio Baldi, from Venice, wrote to the English Government about a curious device which this young Gowrie, John, third earl, had placed in a dancing school in Padua, while a student in that university (1594–7). Baldi's letter was forwarded to the king by Sir Henry Wotton, and was copied from the Venice papers in the Record Office by Father Stevenson, S.J. It is published in Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, vi. 135, 136, note 1 (1870). Baldi says that he

[1] MS. Cotton, Caligula, c. viii. fol. 24*b*. Printed in Papers concerning the first Earl of Gowrie. (Taylor & Co., London, 1867.)

has received from Sir Robert Douglas "a strange relique," which he is sending to the king. Sir Robert, in Padua, met a brother Scot, to whom he said that when in Scotland he had heard talk of 'a certain emblem or impresa,' left by Gowrie in Padua. Sir Robert had a clansman, perhaps a kinsman, Archibald Douglas, who was a fellow student of Gowrie in the Law Faculty of that university, where there were several other Scots, among them a Ker of Newbattle. This we know from the lists of the Anglo-Scottish 'nation' at Padua. One of these students, Archibald Douglas or another, would talk at home about Gowrie's 'emblem.' Sir Robert found it in 'the public school of a dancer,' had it copied, and 'by well handling the matter,' left the copy in the school and stole the original! This original Baldi sends to the king. Baldi writes: 'Thus hath your Majesty now a view *in umbra* of those detestable thoughts which afterwards appeared *in facto*, according to the said Earl's own *mot*.'

This implies that the Scottish student of Padua, who carried home news of the earl's emblem, also repeated a *mot* of the earl on the subject. The emblem expressed *in umbra* an idea. Baldi goes on: 'For what other sense or allusion can the reaching at a crown with a sword in a stretched posture, and the impersonating of his device in a black-a-more, yield to any intelligent and honest beholder?'

What, indeed! Had the emblem been a recognized part of the armorial bearings of the House of Ruthven, then the person who brought home tidings of it and Sir Robert Douglas himself would have known the fact and seen nothing remarkable in Gowrie's conduct. He might blamelessly hang up his family arms anywhere. But *was* this figure, or anything like it, part of the arms of the House of Ruthven? On this point I consulted Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King, who kindly answered as follows:—

DEAR MR. LANG,— *March* 25, 1902.

If you will look at vol. i. of Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, in the additions to Sir David Lindsay's MS. (probably made about 1580–90), you will there find the arms of the Earl of Gowrie bearing a shield with Ruthven, Cameron and Habburton thereon quarterly, within a Royal Tressure, and supported by a ram on the dexter, a goat on the sinister. *On the outside of the dexter supporter is the figure you want.* He is hardly a black-a-more, only a somewhat ill-favoured man-at-arms, clad in blue armour, a baldric of twisted black and white stuff over the *left* shoulder, and a short skirt to his doublet or cuirass (it is not clear where the plate armour ends), with the Ruthven pallets and the Cameron bars

impaled. His left hand grasps the belt of his sheathed sword and his right is extended above his head; out of his mouth comes a scroll with the words TIBI SOLI; a crown hangs in the air some distance above his head.

In an old MS. I have in this office, commonly but erroneously called 'Workman's MS.,' there is a representation of the arms with exactly the same figure, drawn indeed I should think by the same hand. Below the arms are the words: 'The 5th of August ~~1060~~ [*sic* for 1600] John Earl of Gowrie Committed treason to murder his prince who praised be God was disapoynted and slayne by Sir John Ramsay. The coat is scored out in this book, it being then a Register which is to be seen.'

The book really belonged to Sir Robert Forman, who was Lyon at that time. If it was his official register it is but a sorry production.

I can't explain this man-at-arms; and I don't know any other instance of a third figure in an achievement appearing in addition to the supporters.

Yours sincerely,

JAS. BALFOUR PAUL,
Lyon.

The figure thus described, so oddly introduced beside one of the supporters, does not answer exactly to Baldi's account of John, Earl of Gowrie's device erected at Padua, and in Baldi's hands when he wrote. *That* 'emblem,' if correctly described, is more menacing and ambitious. The figure 'reaches at the crown with a sword.' But when and how did this odd addition of the man with the crown in air above his head find its way into the Gowrie arms? It was clearly added by the young Gowrie of the conspiracy (1600).

Mr. Bruce, in *Papers relating to William, first Earl of Gowrie* (pp. 51, 52), cites a paper in the possession of Colonel Stepney-Cowell. It is a deed of February 28, 1583–4, dated at Perth, by which William, first Earl of Gowrie, surrenders into the king's hands his estates, in favour of his eldest son James, later second earl, who died in early youth, being succeeded by his brother John, third earl. Gowrie reserves a life interest to himself and his wife. At his trial in May, 1584, Gowrie pled that his heirs should not be forfeited for his treason, because 'my sons are in my lands.' In fact, in February, 1584, Gowrie was on the verge of his last and fatal plot, and was trying to 'hedge,' in the matter of forfeiture, in case he failed, by handing his estates to his son. It was a common trick.

The point for our inquiry is that the first Earl Gowrie's seal appended to this document, which was executed within two months of his death, *does not, as described by Mr. Bruce, include the enigmatic man under an airy crown.* 'The arms are

quarterly: 1 and 4, Ruthven; 2, Cameron; 3, Haliburton; all within a double border. The crest is said to be a goat's head, issuing out of a crown. The supporters are two goats. The motto is DEID SCHAW. The legend is S · VILLEM · COMITIS · GOVRIAE · DNVS · RUTHVĒ · ET · DIRLTON.'

Thus the seal was made between 1581–2, when Ruthven first obtained the title of Gowrie, and 1584. As no third figure beside one of the supporters is mentioned, *that* appears to have been an addition by the young John, third earl. What did he mean by the armed man, the air-hung crown and the words *Tibi Soli*? The seal was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1851. The new device certainly suggests the existence of ambitious designs in the young earl, who died in his own gallery chamber on August 5, 1601. The report brought to Scotland of a *mot* by the young earl on the subject, and the certainty, derived from the records of the University of Padua, that a Douglas, a Ker and other Scots of good family were fellow-students of Gowrie, and might report the *mot* to Sir Robert Douglas, makes a pretty chain of circumstantial evidence.

Since writing this note I have learned from my friend, Mr. Anderson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, that no Ruthven seals, cited in Henry Laing's *Scottish Seals*, contain the enigmatic figure, not even in a seal of 1597. But Crawford, in his *Peerage of Scotland* (1716), p. 166, gives the arms of John, Earl of Gowrie, not with the old *Deid Schaw*, but with that motto Latinized as *Facta Probant.* The copy in Crawford (note C) is 'from an authentick copy, richly illuminated in the year 1597' (when Gowrie was at Padua), and in this work of 1597 occurs 'a chevalier garnished with the Earl's coat of arms, pointing with a sword upwards to an imperial Crown, with this device—*Tibi Soli.*'

All this clearly dates the strange addition in 1597, and certainly suggests that Gowrie was entertaining, about the time when he reached his majority, some idea connected with the Crown.

A. LANG.

AN EARLY CITIZEN SQUIRE

TO Mr. T. E. Tomlins is due the credit of tracing, in his *Perambulations of Islington* (1858), the early descent of the manor of Newington Barrow, better known to the Londoners of to-day as Highbury. Basing his conclusions, in the modern spirit, on the sure foundation of record evidence, he showed that its early owners were the heirs of that 'Derman of London' who is found in Domesday holding in chief of the king half a hide 'in Iseldone' [Islington], and that this entry must therefore represent the manor of Newington Barrow.

As usual, we are indebted to monastic charters for the first stages of the pedigree, which by their help we are enabled to establish beyond doubt. We have two charters granted to Clerkenwell nunnery by 'Bertramus filius Terrici filii Dermani' *alias* 'Bertramus filius Theodorici filii Derman,' and bestowing on that house 60 acres in 'Newetone' [Newington] and 20 in 'Tolesdone' [Tollington], and a confirmation of them by Bertram's son Thomas. Bertram moreover names his mother Maud.[1] Thierri the son of Derman was a citizen of note forty or fifty years after the date of Domesday. He occurs on the Pipe Roll of 1130 as one of 'the men of London' who pay for the right of the city to choose its own sheriff,[2] and I have discovered him among a number of the chief citizens in 1137.[3]

Thierri's son Bertram was known both as 'Bertramus filius Theodorici filii Derman' and as 'Bertramus de Barwe,' which latter name I shall explain below. His charter granted, under the former name, to the nuns of Clerkenwell is addressed to Richard, Bishop of London, and witnessed by Henry of Essex; it was granted between 1151 and 1161, probably very shortly after his father's death.

[1] These charters are printed and translated in the *Perambulation of Islington* (pp. 61–4) from Cott. MSS. Faust. B. ii. p. 151; Plut. xxv. B. fo. 43. For the origin of this and of the other Clerkenwell Priories see my paper in *Archæologia*, vol. 56, pp. 223 et seq.

[2] *Rot. Pip.* 31 Henry I. p. 148.

[3] *The Commune of London and other Studies*, pp. 101, 106.

The succession of Bertram's son Thomas leads me to explain the name 'Barwe.' With great confidence Mr. Tomlins wrote :—

That the descendants of Dereman of London took the name of Barow from the name of their chief possession at the Barrow in Newington is very clearly shown by the following entry in that ancient book called *Liber A. sive Pilosus*, to which I have before referred (p. 60).

He also asserted of Highbury manor that—

The manor of Newington Barrow, otherwise Highbury, takes its name from lying in that part of Newington distinguished by the Barrow, Camp, or Mound that also gave the name to one of its earliest possessors, Bertram of the (*sic*) Barrow, whose descendant, Dame Alice of the (*sic*) Barrow, gave it to the hospital or priory of St. John of Jerusalem in England (p. 115).[1]

The charter on which Mr. Tomlins relied, and of which he printed the text, was again printed, but from the original (and with all the witnesses), by Sir Henry (then Mr.) Maxwell-Lyte in his Report[2] on the muniments at St. Paul's, and assigned by him to '1204–16.' It is a gift by 'Thomas de Barwe' son of 'Bertram de Barwe' to St. Paul's of William 'filius Reginaldi de Barwe' and all his family (*sequela*). William was bound to render a pound of wax yearly for the light before the high altar of St. Paul's, and the Report speaks of 'the man conveyed being perhaps a relation of the grantor.'

It is at this point that I take up the story and proceed to explain the true origin of the name 'de Barwe.' The above Thomas de Barwe, son of Bertram, is found making a precisely similar grant to the great abbey of St. Edmund's as lord of the neighbouring manor of Barrow ('Barwe'), Suffolk![3] At the prayer of Sampson, its famous abbot, and Walter de Banham the sacrist, he gave the abbey 'Seuardum de Barwe

[1] The traces of earthworks at Highbury (Newington) were described by Mr. Tomlins on pp. 175–6, but his argument on p. 175 that 'the Saxon word Barrow evidently points to some earthwork thrown up and raised either for defence or for burial' shows that, having first misunderstood the name, he then based an argument upon it. So too on p. 180 he observed that 'the affix of *Barowe* to Newington is not without its significance, even if the word *Barowe* were not merely applicable to the eminence at what was, in later times, called High-bury,' this somewhat obscure sentence meaning, we find, that *Barowe* may possibly have been derived from 'its vicinity to the woods.'

[2] *Ninth Report Historical MSS.* App. i. p. 42*a*.

[3] Barrow is about four miles west of Bury St. Edmunds.

filium Alurici le fader cum omnibus catallis suis et cum sequela sua,'[1] and he also gave the abbey the homage and service of Robert son of Wimer.[2] Lastly, as Thomas son of Bertram de Barwe, he granted land in Barrow to Adam the clerk at the request of Richard, parson of Barrow.[3]

The manor of Barrow passed to his heirs, who (unless there were two Thomases, father and son) were his daughters Maud and Alice. The former married Hamon Passelewe, and a charter of hers printed by Gage[4] speaks of her sister Alice as her co-heir, and Thomas 'de Barewe juxta Sanctum Edmundum' as her father. It is interesting for students of county history to observe that while Mr. Gage was ignorant, as he well might be, of the London origin of the lords of Barrow, and could therefore only begin their pedigree with 'Bertram,' Mr. Tomlins, on the other hand, was ignorant of Mr. Gage's valuable work, and was consequently quite mis-



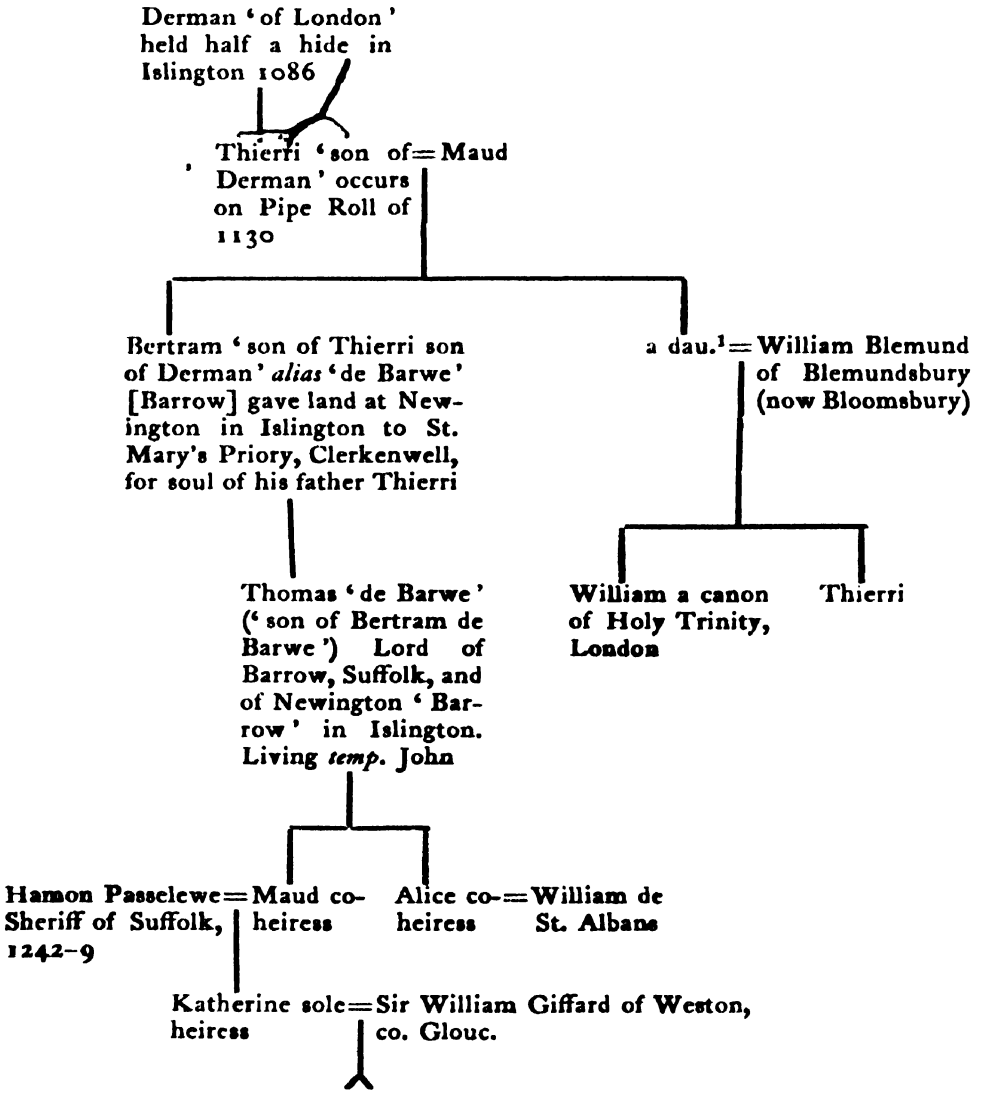
Seal of Thomas de Barwe.

taken as to the identity of 'Barwe,' and had no idea of the connection of the family with Suffolk. He also wrote of 'Alice of Barowe, the last known descendant of Derman' (p. 64). These remarks are only introduced to enforce the necessity of keeping one's eyes open to the possible connection of a family with more counties than one. We can now con-

[1] The charter is printed in Gage's *Thingoe Hundred* (p. 1) from the 'Registrum Sacristæ' at Cambridge. It was executed 'coram tota curia mea de Barwe.'

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. xxvi. [4] *Thingoe Hundred*, p. 3.

struct a pedigree of Derman's descendants by combining the evidence given in the works of Gage and Tomlins with some that was known to neither of them.



It is clear, from what we have seen, that this London family acquired the Suffolk manor of Barrow—probably about the middle of the twelfth century—and took their name from it, and that then their Islington manor of Newington derived from them in turn its name of Newington 'Barrow.' A court roll of 1449, according to Mr. Tomlins (p. 229), styles it 'Newenton Barwe.' Alice de Barrow was supposed by him to be the sole heir of Thomas, and he printed the fine of 1271, by which Alice gave the nuns of Clerkenwell seven marcs of

[1] 'Will. Blemunt prist la suer Bertram de Barue et engendra Will' et Terri' (see *The Commune of London and other Studies*, p. 106).

rent charged on a tenement which the Priory of the Hospital held of her in Newington. Her marriage was not known to him or to Mr. Gage, but her husband's name is supplied by the Suffolk fines calendared by Mr. Walter Rye. One of 19 Henry III. (1234–5) shows Hamon Passelewe and Maud his wife, William de St. Albans and Alice his wife, dealing with land in 'Baruhe'; and another of the same year mentions William and Alice there (pp. 33, 38). Gage also observes that 'William de St. Albans and Alice his wife were impleaded in 25 Henry III. for impeding Hamon Passelewe and Maud his wife from presenting to the living of Barrow.[1] Maud seems to have inherited the Suffolk property, for she had a grant of a fair and market at Barrow, February 11, 51 Henry III. (1267). Alice appears to have had Newington.

J. HORACE ROUND.

[1] *Thingoe Hundred*, p. 17 note (from Rot. Cur. Reg. 25 Henry III. m. 24 dors.).

THE KING'S CORONATION ORNAMENTS

II

AN examination of the various documents relating to the coronations of the Tudor sovereigns shows very clearly that the state of crystallization as regards the ceremonial and ornaments which began to set in early in the fifteenth century had become chronic by the end of it, and so continued into the sixteenth century.

Although no detailed accounts of the coronations of Henry VII. or Henry VIII. seem to have survived, the document or order known as the *Little Device* has been preserved in the case of each king;[1] but so far as the royal ornaments are concerned neither differs substantially from that already quoted in connexion with the coronation of Richard III., from which they must have been copied.

This directed the king to be arrayed on the day of his coronation in two shirts, one of lawn, the other of crimson tartaryn, with convenient openings for the anointing, breeches and hosen, and a coat or cassock of crimson satin, also with openings for the anointing; and over these other crimson robes, consisting of a surcoat, hood and mantle, with a cap of estate.

For the anointing the king was divested of his outer robes as far as the crimson cassock, and then afterwards invested with the linen gloves, the 'tabard of white tartaryn shaped in manner of a dalmatick' (otherwise the *colobium sindonis*), the linen coif, the long coat wrought with great images of gold (i.e. the tunicle or dalmatic), the hose and sandals, the armils and the 'pall royal iiij square woven all w^t^ golden eagles' (the *pallium regale*). The king was also invested with the usual regalia.

At the end of the service the king was 'unarayed of his Regalls to his cote and shirte,' and arrayed with hose, sandals, and other robes of estate, similar to those in which he walked

[1] The *Little Device* for Henry VII.'s coronation has been printed in full by the Camden Society in vol. 21, *The Rutland Papers* (London, 1842), and by Mr. L. G. W. Legg in *English Coronation Records*, 219–239.

to the church, but purple in colour and of richer material. He also wore the crown over the cap of estate and carried the sceptres in his hands.

For the coronations of the three Tudor kings there are preserved in the Public Record Office the accounts of the emptions and provisions of stuff necessary. These are arranged somewhat differently from those for Richard III.'s coronation, the materials bought being set down separately, with the prices and the cost of the making. They are therefore more tedious to quote. As moreover one substantially follows the precedent of the other, their stereotyped character renders them less interesting, and for that reason it may suffice to refer to the accounts for Henry VII.'s coronation[1] as typical of the series.

They record the purchase for 10*s.* of a piece of sipers[2] for the king's shirt and of three yards of crimson sarcenet at 3*s.* 8*d.* for the second shirt, and 2*s.* for the making of 'a cote of crymsyn satyn lyned w^t^ white fustian.' The king's breeches and girdles are only incidentally mentioned. To wear over these in the procession from Westminster Hall to the church there were provided 'a long mantelle w^t^ a trayne of crimsin saten furred w^t^ menever' with a hood, kirtle and cap of estate of the same material. The cost of 22½ yards of the satin was £22 10*s.* The robe or mantle had a mantel-lace of crimson silk and three buttons. The cap of estate was adorned with gold, and surmounted by a button and silk tassel.

To the vestments put on the king after his anointing we find reference in 'iij quarter of an elle holaunde clothe for gloves for the King' and 'a elle holaunde clothe for a coif for the King'; for the making of 'ij dalmatikes one of crymsyn saten the other of white sarsinet,' the latter being the *colobium sindonis*; for the cloth of gold for the king's 'sabatons' and the crimson silk for lining them; for 'Riban of venys gold for the Kinges gloves and his Sabatons,' and 'riche corsse of gold for girdels for the Kinges swerdes and for his Spurres.'

Neither the armils nor the *pallium regale*, or 'pall royal iiij

[1] These accounts have been twice printed: firstly by the Rev. W. Campbell in his *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII.*, Rolls Series 60 (London, 1873 and 1877), ii. 3–29; and again by Mr. Legg in *English Coronation Records*, 198–218.

[2] = Cypress, or fine lawn.



GEORGE II.

square woven all w^t^ golden Egles,' can be identified, probably owing to their being those known as St. Edward's, which were kept with the rest of the regalia.

The cost of the purple velvet mantle, etc. directed by the *Little Device* to be worn by the king on his return from the church is set forth in detail. The 27½ yards of velvet required for the mantle, hood, kirtle, 'surcot overt' and cap of estate cost £55, and 20½ yards of purple velvet 'for performing of the same' £17 1*s*. 8*d*. The mantle is described as 'a longe mantelle of purpull velvet with a trayne furred w^t^ Ermyns powdred.' The mantellace was of gold and silk, and three buttons were provided for it. The cap of estate was garnished with cloth of gold; it had a button which cost 13*s*. 4*d*., and the tassell of Venice gold for the 'grete boton' cost 45*s*.

The account also includes the purchase from John Smith, armourer, of 'a Swerde w^t^ a poynte price viijs a other Swerde w^t^ a poynte price vjs viijd ij other swerdes w^t^oute poyntes called Curtana price the pece vjs viijd xiijs iiijd . . . xxviijs. Item for garnysshing of a Swerde xijd.' Elsewhere in the account are charges for cloth of gold for the sword scabbards.

Sir J. Charles Robinson, F.S.A., has in his possession a magnificent English state sword, which may be one of those referred to in this account, and possibly that wherewith the king was girded. The hilt, which is plated with gold, is of the second half of the fourteenth century, and has on one side of the flattened circular pommel an enamelled shield of the royal arms, *France ancient and England quarterly*, on a ground of green enamel, and on the other a relic, apparently a piece of some woven stuff, enclosed under a clouded agate. The plain surfaces of the pommel and quillons are ornamented by small gold cinquefoils or roses in low relief. The blade is clearly of the time of Henry VII., and has on one side a Tudor rose within the Garter with a crowned portcullis above, and on the other faint traces of another rose also within the Garter. The mottoes are in black letter. As this is a state sword the pendants of the Garters are properly turned towards the hilt, so that the badges are the right way up when the sword is borne point upwards.

The wardrobe accounts for the coronation of Henry VIII. are followed in the manuscript by an interesting list of the things to be provided. This list, which should have preceded the accounts, is entitled :

The abbrigement of the precedent of the Coronacion of the moste excellent prince King Henry the viij[th] solempnyed at Westmynster the Sonday being Midsomerday the xxiiij day of June the first yere of his Reigne · and of Quene Kateryn his Wyf.

The list so closely follows the language of the *Little Device*, from which it was evidently compiled, that there is no need to repeat it. It contains however one item not found in the other lists of the king's ornaments :

Item a Cap of blacke velvet for the fillyng of the Crowne and an other of blak Satyn for to sitte strayte uppon his hed under that to be delivered to hym by the seid maister of the grete warderobe.

Of Henry VIII.'s regalia there has been preserved a minute account of his crown imperial, the bracelets, the rod with the dove, another rod, and the orb or sceptre with the cross, in an inventory of the master of the king's jewels taken on 14th February, 12 Henry VIII. (1520–1) :[1]

Furste the kingis crowne of golde the Bordour garnisshed with Six Balacys ffyve Saphures fyve pointed Diamoundys twanty Rubyes xix pearlys and iiij Collettis the Balacys with the king

And one of the crosses of the same Crowne garnisshed with a greate Saphure an Emerade Crased iiij Balacys and ix pearlis not all of a sorte

Item on the left side of the same Crosse a Floure de luce set w[t] an ymage of Cryste with a great Balace Brooken a less Balace a poynted dyamounde two pearlis and the Collet where a fayre Balace stode and a crampon where the pearle stode. the Balace and the pearle w[t] the king

and next that a nother Crosse w[t] a course saphure iiij course balacys a fayre litle Emerade a lozenged Diamonde like a harte a ruby viij perlis and a crampon where the pearle stode the pearle w[t] the king

and next that another Floure de luce sett w[t] a saunte George a fayre balace a poynted Diamounde and thre perlis a collett where a Balace stode The Balace with the king in oon leaf And of the other leaf both collett and Balace with the king

and next that Another Crosse w[t] a large Round Saphure iiij Balacys iiij perlys and a Collett the emerade w[t] the king and v crampons the pearlis w[t] the king

and next that an other flour de luce set with our ladyes ymage and hir childe a Balace a poynted Diamonde thre pearlis and two Collettis The Balace w[t] the king

and next that a nother Crosse set w[t] two Saphures iiij balacys viij pearlis and a crampon where the pearle stode, The pearle w[t] the king

And next that an other flour de luce set w[t] an ymage of Cryste a Balace a poynted Diamonde thre pearlis and ij colletis The balace w[t] the king

[1] The list was printed from the original MS. in the possession of the Duke of Portland, signed by the King himself, by the late Bishop Trollope in *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers* (1883), xvii. 158, 159. It is here reprinted in paragraph form for greater clearness.

and next that an other Crosse set w^t a course Saphure iiij balacys ix pearlis and a Collett The Emerade w^t the king

And next that an other flower Deluce sett w^t an ymage of Criste w^t a Balace a Smalle poynted Diamounde thre pearlis and two Collettys th Balace w^t the king

Item oon the Diademe above twelf poynted diamoundys some better then the other thre Tryangled diamoundys oon table diamounde and xxviij pearlis two in a troche

poysaunt to gidders iiii^xx x oz d

Item a payer of Braslettis garnissid w^t vj balacys not fyne vj Bigge course pearlis moche of a Sort And v lesser pearlis of a sorte waiyng to gidders w^t ij [illegible] poyntis vij oz d

Item a Septour of golde w^t a Dove theruppon waiyng xij oz

Item a Rodde of Golde waiyng iij oz d d qrt

Item a Ronde Balle with a Crosse of gold waiyng xvij oz d

From the description of the crown it is clear that around the border or circlet were arranged five crosses and as many fleurs-de-lis alternately, and that to the latter were affixed small images, three representing our Lord, the fourth our Lady and Child, and the fifth St. George. From within this coronet rose the crossed arches of the crown, here called the diadem, and no doubt surmounted by the usual ball and cross. The whole crown was richly jewelled, and from the description we learn that many of the gems were loose, and in the custody of the king himself.

Of the coronation of Edward VI. we have ample particulars in the form and order recorded in the Acts of the Privy Council of 13th February, 1546–7,[1] and in two independent accounts of the actual ceremony in a manuscript volume belonging to the Society of Antiquaries.[2] As these two accounts are substantially the same so far as they furnish us with any particulars of the king's coronation ornaments, it will suffice to quote the first of them. The king's array on the morning of the great day is thus described :

From Whitehall therefore upon sunday the xx^th of february about · 9 · of the clock went by water to Westm^r. where in the chamber of the augmentation court he put on his Robes · viz. a Robe of crimson velvet with a long trayne furred withe ermynes. A circot of the same furred with minever, the collar, skirtes, and sleve handes garnished with ryband of gold and two tabbardes soe theck (?) furred with ermynes · 4 · fingars broad · with a whood lykewise furred. which were called his parlement Robes · wearing on his head a cappe of blacke velvet.

[1] J. R. Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, n.s. ii. (A.D. 1547–50) 29–33.

[2] MS. cxxiii. The volume is not paged. The accounts of the king's coronation are at the beginning.

Just before the anointing the king was

ledd into his Travers where being disarrayed by his great Chamberlayne was clothed with newe array · in a cote of crimson sattyn open before, behynd, at the shoulders and at the elbowes and a coyfe of gold put on his head.

After the anointing

the openinges of his cote and shirt were closte by the Archbishop, putting on his handes a payer of Linnen gloves and a Linnen coyfe upon his head brought him by the L. great Chamberlayne. He was conveyed thence to his Travers where after he had shifted him self into his rich robes he returned to the Altar and there offered up his sword that he was gyrt withall which after ward was redeemed for v^{li}.

Then were hallowid the Kinges Regalles and ornamentes and sitting in his chayre before the high Altar the L. ArchB. and L. Protector with great Reverence brought him 3 crownes.

The first was S^{t} Edwardes crowne.

The second was the Kinges Imperiall crowne.

The third a very rich one made pourposely for his grace.

All which one after another were set upon the Kinges head. and betwene the putting on and taking of, of them the Trumpettes soundid. And the Quyer began to sing *Te Deum* &$^{c.}$ and · whilst they were singing the Arch Bishop put a ring of gold upon his mariage finger. Bracelettes and other ieweles were brought by the Master of the iewelhouse.

The Erle of Shrewsbury delyverid him the sceptre.

The Arch Bishop of Canterbury gave him S$^{t.}$ Edwardes staff.

The Erle of Rutland presented the spurres.

The Duke of Suffolk delyverid the Ball of gold.

The Erle of Oxford delyverid the Regalles of gold.

At the conclusion of the service

he was conducted downe to the high Altar where the Arch Bishop taking of the crowne from his head set it on the Altar · and then retyring him selfe into his Traverse, his Regalles were delyverid to the Deane of Westm' to be layd also upon the Altar. And putting on a Surcott of pourple velvet furred with ermines. and a Crowne on his head he retornid unto Westminster hall to dinner the Barons of the · 5 · portes bearing the canapy over him and in the same order of proceeding as before.

The second of the accounts describes the king's appearance when he received the homage of his peers :

settenge in the chayre apparelled in his Royall Robes, havinge his crown Imperiall on his hed his Scepter in his Right hande and the ball in his lefte hande.

The Privy Council form and order mentions the 'cote of crymesyn satyn' or cassock worn by the king over his shirt at the anointing, and directs that after the imposition of the linen gloves 'the Archebushope of Canturbury shall put on the King

a tabert of tartaron white, shaped in manner of a dalmatike; and he shall put apon the Kinges hedde a coif.' There is no order for the imposition of the three crowns, but simply that the king 'shalbe crowned with St. Edwardes Crowne.'

The imperial crown wherewith King Edward is stated above to have been crowned was that of King Henry already described, and a detailed account of it, in almost the same words, is given in the great inventory of the deceased king's jewels made the 20th of January, 3 Edward VI., and now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries.[1] From a comparison of the two descriptions it is clear that the crown had undergone repair since 1521. Some slight changes seem also to have been made in it, for, although it continued to bear the images in the fleurs-de-lis of our Lady and St. George, the three other figures of Christ are now described as those of kings. The weight had also been increased to fourscore and eighteen ounces, which may partly be accounted for by the fact that the crown now contained 'a Capp of purple vellat lyned with blacke satten.'[2] This cap was of course the cap of estate belonging to the purple velvet mantle, etc. which the king assumed at the end of the coronation service, and he quite properly wore it surmounted by or placed within the imperial crown. The inventory above mentioned also includes the bracelets, etc. but their descriptions and weights are identical with those given in 1520–1.

The same manuscript volume belonging to the Society of Antiquaries that contains the accounts of King Edward's crowning, also contains an original draft of the form and order of Queen Mary's coronation.

As this was the first occasion in the history of England on which a queen-regnant was to be crowned, it is possible that some question arose as to the vestments in which the queen should be arrayed. But the directions in the draft are somewhat confusing, and for the actual facts we have to fall back upon another authority.

The queen is directed to go to the abbey church in her

[1] MS. cxxix. f. 7.

[2] The accounts for Henry VIII.'s coronation record the purchase of 'a yerde of blacke velvet for a bonet with a Tarsse mete for the Kynges hede to bere the Sercle of golde,' and of half a yard of black satin 'for a faux bonet w'in mete for the Kynges hede to bere the Crowne.' It will be noticed that Edward VI. wore a cap of black velvet in the procession to the church.

parliament robes of crimson velvet, as had now become customary, and previous to the anointing she is to retire to her traverse, which was on the left hand of the high altar, and to be unarrayed and unclothed and newly apparelled in crimson velvet

viz. a robe cont[aining] mantell wth a trayne a kirtle furred wth wombes or menever a Surcoate a ryban of venice gold a mantelace of silke and gold w^{t} botons and tassells for the same for the Kertill lxx annellettes of silver and gilte and for to lace w^{t} the Kirtells and robes iiij annellettes of silver and gilte in w^{ch} robes she shall reseave hir noyntem^{tes} and also thimperiall crowne.

After the anointing and the putting on of the linen gloves and linen coif the queen is again to retire to her traverse 'to putt on her riche robes of crymoysin velvet.' There must however be some confusion here, the robes so minutely described evidently being those which the queen was to wear in the procession to the church, and she certainly could not have been anointed in them. For the actual facts it may be worth while quoting the evidence of an eye-witness.

The French ambassador, Antoine, seigneur de Noailles, who was present at Mary's coronation in his official capacity, records how the queen went from Westminster Hall to the abbey church

vestue d'ung grand manteau de velours cramoisy avec une tres longue queue qui luy estoit portée de son chamberland,[1]

but he notes that after the Litany

sa majesté se retira en ung cabinet privé, & s'estant osté le manteau & demourée en ung corset de velours pourpré, sortit ;[2]

and the anointing done, he says the queen was

apres vestue d'une robe de taffetaz blanc & d'ung manteau de velours pourpré fourré d'ermine & sans rabbat.[2]

This is certainly more in accordance with precedent, and it is interesting to notice that, despite the sovereign being a woman, she was invested in the *colobium sindonis*, for such the 'robe de taffetaz blanc' evidently was. But if we are to believe De Noailles, Queen Mary does not seem to have been invested with either the tunic or the stole or the *pallium regale*, but with a purple velvet mantle only over the *colobium sindonis*.

[1] *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre.* Redigées par feu M. l'Abbé de Vertot (Leyden, 1763), ii. 199. [2] *Ibid.* 201.

The French ambassador continues:

& ainsy de rechef asseoise avecques beaucoup de ceremonies, luy furent presentées toutes les enseignes dictescy dessus que portoient les princes en main, & finablement fust couronnée de trois couronnes, & luy demourant la derniere en teste.[1]

This crowning of Queen Mary, like her brother, with three crowns one after another, 'to wite one king Edwardes crowne the other the Imperiall crowne of this realme of Englonde the thirde a verie riche crowne to be purposelie made for hir grace,' is directed to be done in the order, and to be followed by the investiture with the ring, the jewelled bracelets 'of golde and precious stones,' the sceptre, St. Edward's staff, the spurs, the ball of gold and the regall of gold.

To receive the homage of her peers, Mary was to sit

apparelled in hir roiall robes of crymoysin velvet cont. a mantell w^t a trayne a circuit[2] w^t a kirtle furred w^t wombes of mynyver pure a rybend of venice gold a mantell lace of silke and gold w^t botonnes and tasselles of the same for the kirtle lxx annellettes of silver and gilte and for to lace the Kirtles and robes iiij annellettes of silver and gilte. having her crowne Imperiall on her hedde / hir Scepter in hir right hand and the ball in hir lefte hand . . . having a paire of Sabotons on her feete covred w^t crymoysyn clothe of gold lyned withe cremoysin satten garnished w^t rybend of venice gold.

Here again there must be some confusion, for the ambassador says clearly that she was finally habited after the anointing in a purple velvet mantle and then invested with the regalia. Since the fealty and homage followed, there was no opportunity for the queen to exchange her robes for the crimson velvet suit.

At the end of the service the order properly directs the queen to lay aside 'all her regalies,' to be 'uncladde of her apparell,' and to be arrayed in the usual robes of purple velvet with her crown set on her head, and so to leave the church.

The coronation of Elizabeth does not seem to have differed materially from that of her sister Mary, the order being as before, the Latin version of *Liber Regalis*. From a wardrobe account of the necessaries for the coronation, signed by the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Shrewsbury,[3] we learn that besides the queen's parliament robe there were provided a kirtle, surcoat, and mantle of crimson velvet furred with ermine, and like robes of purple velvet, also furred with ermine, that

[1] *Ibid.* 201. [2] i.e. surcoat.

[3] Public Record Office, Exch. Q. R. Accounts, 429/3.

is to say 'a Kirtle and a Surcote made rounde to the showe with tabberd Sleaves and a Mantle with a long trayne.' The queen's sabbatons were of 'clothe of golde and silver tissue with golde and silver' lined with crimson satin and adorned with 'Passamnyne Laice of golde and crimson silke.' The gloves to be put on her hands after the anointing were 'a payer of fine gloves knytte w^t^ fine whyt threade,' and the coif was of 'fine camericke with Laces.' The *colobium sindonis* is described as 'A Taberde of white sarcennett,' and for it were provided five yards of 'White Sarcenett for a taburde to be putt on the quenes gowne when she is annoynted.' The items that follow are:

(i.) a 'Cloke and Cloke bagge,' the former of crimson velvet adorned with twisted gold lace, the latter of 'clothe of golde crimsen with werkes'; both were lined with 'satten incarnate.'

(ii.) 'a Male' of crimson velvet striped with gold, ornamented with gold and crimson silk fringe and passamnine lace of silk and gold. Another account describes the stuff of the male as 'Bawdekyn golde Crimson raised with crimson velvet.'

(iii.) 'a Hatte' covered with crimson velvet. 'The same hatte all over embroidered with venice golde and a fewe pirles of damaske golde lyned with taphata Tassells and a band of silke and golde for the same hatte.'

There were also provided 'a payer of hose of crimson silke and golde' and 'Cotton Wolle. To drye upp the oyle aftre the quene is annoynted.'

There were further 'to be prepared owte of the Jewel-house':

The Sceptre.
The Rodde.
The Balle.
Three Crownes.
A Ringe.
A paier of Bracellettes.
also S^t.^ Edwardes Spurres.
S^t.^ Edwardes Staffe.

The queen was therefore probably crowned with the three crowns in succession like her brother and sister. From another wardrobe account[1] we find that 'for lyninge the Crowne imperiall' half a yard of purple velvet was provided.

[1] Exch. Q. R. Accounts, 429/4.

The coronation of James I. was the first at which the service was in English throughout, the old Latin form of *Liber Regalis* having been translated for the occasion. It seems also to have been the first at which the wearing of the red silk shirt by the king was omitted, although it was provided as usual; it was also omitted at the coronation of Charles I. We have this on the authority of Archbishop Laud, who has left a note in his own copy of Charles's coronation order, after the rubric directing the delivery overnight to the king of 'the Tunica, or Shirt of Red Silke, open and looped at the Places of Anoynting':

> This was not worne: And my L: of Winchester[1] whoe was Dean of Westminster when K. Jeames was crowned avowed y^t^ he did not wear it. And thear is noe use but for warmth.[2]

After the anointing, in the case of each king, the linen coif was put on his head, and then he was arrayed in the *colobium sindonis*, the super-tunica or close pall, the 'Tinsin hose' and the sandals, and the spurs, and after the girding with the sword with the armill and the mantle or close pall. Lastly, he was crowned, but with one crown only, and not with three successively, as in the case of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, and invested with the ring and gloves, the sceptre with the cross, and the rod with the dove.

Although, as will appear presently, one of the crowns used at the coronation of James I. was the great crown of Henry VIII., the king had another 'crown imperial,' probably that which was placed on his head at the end of the service. It is thus described in a list of the 'Jewelles remayninge in an yron cheste in the secrete jewelhouse w^th^in the Tower of London' on 22nd March, 1604–5:

> Fyrste a Crowne Imperyall of golde sett about the nether border w^th^ ix^en^ greate pointed dyamondes · and betwene everye dyamonde a knott of perle sett by fyve perles in a knott, in the upper border eight rocke rubies and xx^tie^ rounde perles · the fower arches beinge sett eche of them w^th^ a table dyamonde · a table rubye · an emeralde · and uppon twoe of the arches xviii^en^ perles · and uppon the other twoe arches xvii^en^ perles · and betwene everye arche a great ballace sett in a collet of golde and uppon the topp a verye great ballace perced · and a lytle crosse of golde uppon the top enamelled blewe.[3]

[1] Bishop Lancelot Andrewes.

[2] *The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles the First of England*, ed. Chr. Wordsworth (Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1892), 9.

[3] F. Palgrave, *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of H.M.'s. Exchequer* (London, 1836), ii. 299.

Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg has printed at length[1] the inventory of the regalia in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster made on 17th December, 1606, when Dr. Richard Neile assumed the deanery. It enumerates the king's principal crown, the 'calix Lapideus cum Patinâ, vulgo dictum y^e^ Regall,' the spurs, a long spoon gilt, a jewelled cross with a crucifix, an eagle of gold called the ampull, the sceptre with the cross, the rod with the dove, S^t.^ Edward's staff, and a comb of ivory; also two pairs of shoes, 'the one litle, y^e^ other great,' a femoral of linen, a shirt of red silk, a rich girdle, a pair of 'bootes of Tynsine,' a pair of fustian gloves, and a tunicle of sarcenet. The queen's crown is also included, as well as her sceptre and ivory rod with the dove.

Within a few months of the martyrdom of King Charles the whole of the ancient regalia were scheduled and valued, and finally broken up. One of the original copies of the inventory, which includes all the plate in the lower and upper Jewel Houses of the Tower, is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries,[2] by whom it has been printed in full in *Archæologia*,[3] and the sections relating to the regalia have lately been reprinted from the original MS. by Mr. L. G. W. Legg.[4]

These sections are three in number:

(i.) the valuation of the crowns, bracelets, and sceptres.
(ii.) an inventory of the regalia removed from Westminster to the Jewel House.
(iii.) an inventory of certain ornaments remaining at Westminster.

The last-named are described as 'in an Iron Chest where they were formerly kept,' and consisted of 'One Crimson taffaty Robe very old,' 'One Robe laced w^th^ gould lace,' 'One Liver Cull^ed^ silke Robe very old and worth nothing,' 'One Robe of Crimson taffaty sarcenett,' 'One paire of buskins Cloth of silver and silver stockins very old,' 'One paire of shoos of Cloth of gould,' 'One paire of gloves embrod^ed^ w^th^ gould,' 'Three swords w^t^ scabbards of Cloth of gould,' and 'One old comb of horne worth nothing.' The whole lot was valued at £4 10*s.* 6*d.*

It is not unlikely that the contents of this chest formed

[1] *English Coronation Records*, 242–4. [2] MS. cviii. ff. 1–19.
[3] Vol. xv. 271–90. [4] *English Coronation Records*, 272–5.

part of the relics of St. Edward enumerated by Sporley.[1] The remainder are probably among the other regalia described below. The liver-coloured robe may be identified with the *pallium regale*, and the *tunica* and *supertunica* with one or other of the rest of the robes. The other ornaments explain themselves.

The second section, from its interest and the information it contains, is sufficiently curious to justify its being again given in full in an article on the King's Coronation Ornaments, especially since it gives us the last particulars of the ancient regalia. The list has been transcribed from the manuscript :

f. 17b

An Inventory of that part of the Regalia which are now removed from Westm^r^ to the Tower Jewellhouse

	£	s.	d.
Queene Ediths Crowne formerly thought to be of Massy gould but upon triall found to be of Silver gilt Enrichd with Garnettes foule pearle Saphires and some odd stones poz 50 Ounces ½ valued at	0016	00	00
King Alfreds Crowne of gould wyerworke sett with slight stones ; and 2 little belles poz 79 Ounces ½ at 3 li per ounce	0248	10	00
A gould plate dish Enamelld sett with slight stones weighing 23 Ounces ½ valued at 3 li 6^s^ per Ounce	0077	11	00
One large glass Cupp wrought in figures and sett in gould with some stones and pearles formerly Calld an Aggat Cupp poz 68 oz ½ valued at 1^li^ 10^s^ per Ounce. . .	0102	15	00[2]
A dove of gould sett with stones and pearle poz 8 ounces ½ in a box sett with studds of silver gilt valued at .	0026	00	00
The gould and stones belonging to a Coller of [Esses *struck out*] Crimson Taffaty wrought with gould and stones sett in plates of silver Enamelld wanting 5 weighing 7 Ounces ½ valued at 2^li^ 10^s^ per Ounce	0018	15	00
	0489	11	00[3]

f. 18

One staff of black and white Ivory with a dove on the top with binding and foote of gould valued at	0004	10	00
A large staff with a dove on y^e^ top formerly thought to be all gould but upon triall found to be the lower part wood within and silver gilt without weighing in all 27 Ounces valued at	0035	00	00
One small staff with a floure de Luce on the topp formerly thought to be all of gould but upon triall found to be Iron within and silver gilt without the silver valued at	0002	10	00

[1] L. G. W. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 191.

[2] *Written over* 0068 00 00 *struck through.*

[3] *Written over* 0454 16 00 *struck through.*

	£	s.	d.
Two Scept[rs] one sett w[th] pearle & stones the upper[e] end gould the lower end silver, y[e] gould poz 23 Ounces valued at 55[s.] per Ounce the lower end being horne and a little silver gilt vał at 12s. The other silvar gilt with a dove formerly thought gould poz 7 ounces ¾ at 5[s.] 6[d.] per Ounce	0065	16	10½
One Silver spoone gilt poz 3 Ounces vał at 5[s.] 4[d.] per ounce	0000	16	00
The gould of the Tasselles of the Liver Cull[rd] Robe weighing 4 Ounces valued at 2łi per Ounce 8łi / and the Coat with the Neck button of gould valued at 2 łi / the Robe having some pearle valued at 3 łi / In all	0013	00	00
All these according to Order of Parliam[t] are broken and defaced			
One paire of silver gilt spurres with buckles sett with 12 slight stones and Crimson silke strapps weighing 6 Ounces ¾ at 5[s.] 4[d.] per Ounce	0001	13	04
	0118	16	02½

The total value of the regalia, that is of the ornaments just quoted and of those kept in the iron chest, is given as £612 17*s.* 8½*d.*

There can be little doubt that these regalia are the remainder of the relics of St. Edward enumerated by Sporley. Queen Edith's crown is that *pro coronacione Regine*, and that called 'King Alfreds' ought to be King Edward's *corona aurea optima.*

The gold and enamelled paten and the 'large glass cup' are the *calix lapidis onichini cum pede ligaturis et patena de auro optimo* of Sporley's list; and it is interesting to compare with the description of them here given a note upon the cup in the inventory of 1606: 'Imprimis Calix Lapideus cum Patinâ, vulgo dictum y[e] Regall in y[e] Anticks of the Stone Cup y[e] Dog's head is broken off, and 3. small Pearles wanting in y[e] foote thereof.'[1]

The collar of crimson taffaty may be the *armilla* of Sporley's list, and the tassells of the liver-coloured robe suggest that the latter was his *paleum brudatum.*

The ivory rod with the rod and one of the 'Two Scept[rs]' lower down in the list seem to be the *duas virgas* for the coronation of a queen.

The large staff with a dove is probably the *sceptrum aureum* and the small staff with a fleur-de-lis the *virga ferrea.* The other of the pair of sceptres will then be the *lignea virga aeaurata.*

[1] Legg, 244.

The silver-gilt spoon is of course the *cocliar* of Sporley's list, and there are good grounds for believing that the same spoon is the well known one still preserved among the regalia. This is certainly not the spoon made for the coronation of Charles II., but one of the end of the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century.[1]

The dove of gold and the pair of spurs are not included in Sporley's list. The former is undoubtedly the ampul for the cream, and it is an interesting question whether, although it is now fashioned as an eagle, it was not of old in form of a dove as here described.

There still remain to be noticed the jewels in the first section mentioned above, viz. the crowns, bracelets and sceptres.

The sceptres included (i.) the globe, weighing 1 lb. 5¼ oz., and valued at £57 10*s.*; (ii.) two sceptres, weighing 18 oz., and valued at £60; and (iii.) a long rod of silver gilt, weighing 1 lb. 5 oz., valued at £4 10*s.* 8*d.* This last was perhaps St. Edward's staff.

The '2 · Coronation Braceletts' weighed 7 oz., less one ounce to be deducted for the weight of the stones and pearls, and were valued at £20; 3 balas rubies set in each of them were valued at £6, and 12 pearls at £10, or £36 in all. They were no doubt the same as those included in the inventory of Henry VIII.'s jewels, and described as

> Item one paier of Bracellettes of golde garnished with six ballaces nott yne six course bigg perles muche of one sorte and v lesser perles of one sorte weying togethers with blacke lace poyntes vij ounces di.[2]

The globe above mentioned is also probably that specified in the same inventory as:

> Item a Rounde Ball with a crosse of gold weying xvij oz dī.

The crowns were three in number:

(i) The Kings Crowne	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Imperiall Crowne of Massy gold weighing 7 · li · 6 ounces, enriched with 19 · Saphires · 37 · Rubies Ballass, 21 small Rubies · 2 · Emrodes · 28 Diamondes [232 *erased*] 168 Pearles. The gold (6 · oz being abated for the Stones,) valued at 280 · li. The Saphires at 198 · li · the Ballass · Rubies at 149li. the small Rubies at 16 · li · the Emralds at 5 li · the Diamonds at 288 li · the pearles at 174 li · amounts in all to	1110	00	00[3]

[1] See *Archæologia*, liii. 118, 119. [2] MS. Soc. Antiq. Lond. cxxix. f. 7*b*.

[3] The total was originally £990, but has been altered to the above amount.

		£	s.	d.
(ii)	The Queenes Crowne			
	The Queenes Crowne of Massy gold weighing 3 li · 10 ounces, enriched with 20 · Saphires · 22 · Rubies Ballass · 83 · Pearles. The gold (5 ounces being abated for the weight of the stones) y^e^ gold valued at 40 li per li · the Saphires at 120 li · the Rubies ballass at 40 li · the pearle at 41 li · 10s. which in all amountes to	0338	03	04
(iii)	A Small Crowne found in an Iron Chest formerly in the Lord Cottingtons charge enricht with Diamonds Rubies Saphires Emrods and pearles the gold Weighing 25 ounces (whereof 3 ounces being abated for the weight of the stones,) is valued at 3^li.^ 6^s.^ 8^d.^ per oz.	073	16	08
	The Diamonds Rubies Saphires Emrods and pearles are valued at	355	00	00

A note a few pages further on states [f. 16*b*] that

The foremenciond Crownes since y^e^ Inventorye was Taken are accordinge to ord^r^ of Parlam^te^ totallie Broken and Defaced.

In the Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries,[1] under date 12st April, 1748, is the following record of another inventory taken at the same time as the other, but arranged differently and giving further details. As it does not seem to have been noticed elsewhere no apology is needed for printing so interesting a document :

p. 180

Dr. Lyttleton favoured the Society with sight of the following transcript from a loose sheet among Mr. Aubrey's MS. Collections relating to North Wiltshire in the Ashmole Musæum.

Decimo quinto Augusti 1649

Plate remaining within the upper Jewell howse in the Tower and delivered over to the Trustees of Parliament for sale of the late kings goods, &c.

THE KINGS CROWN VALUED

		£		£
In a flower de Luce having the Picture of the Virgin Mary	Two Saphirs valued at	65	Eight Rubies Ballaces valued at . .	26
In the Crosse next to that flower de Luce . . .	Four saphirs valued at	36	Six Rubies Ballaces valued att. . .	18
In another Flower de Luce and Cross	Four saphirs valued at	23	Seven Rubies Ballaces val^d^ . . .	42
In another Flower de Luce and Cross	Six Saphirs valued at	62	Eight Rubies Ballaces valued	50
In another Flower de Luce and Cross	four Saphirs valued at	18	Eight Rubies Ballaces val^d^ . . .	40
		204		176
				204
			Saphirs and Rubies toto	380

[1] Vol. v. 180.

	£
Eight & Twenty Diamonds in the Crowne valued at Six pounds each. In all	168
p. 181	
Two Emeralds valued at	5
Two hundred and thirty two Pearls valued at fifteen shillings each, in all	174
One and twenty Rubies valued at	16
Seven Pound and six ounces of Gold valued at £40 per lb. with 6 ounces abated for stones weight · in all	280
Brot over the value of the Saphirs Rubies and Diamonds	548
Summe in Money is	1023

THE QUEENS CROWNE VALUED

	£	sh.	d.
Twenty Saphiers valued at	120	–	–
Two and twenty Rubie Ballaces val	40	–	–
Fourscore and three Pearls valued at 10s. each	41	10	–
The Gold three pound five ounces at £40 per lb. weight	137	6	8
	338	16	8

KING EDWARD THE 6ST CROWN

	£	sh.	d.
One Saphire valued at	60	–	–
One Diamond valued at	200	–	–
One Emerauld valued at	12	–	–
Two Rubies valued at	43	–	–
Thirteen Diamonds val. at	32	–	–
Threescore and ten Pearles valued at two and sixpence each	8	15	–
In Gold	73	16	–
	429	11	0

	£	sh.	d.
The Globe poiz seventeen ounces & a Quarter	57	10	–
The Two Scepters eighteen ounces	60	0	0
The Bracelets valued at	36	–	–
	153	10	–

Colonel John Dove of Surrey kept in his Chamber in the Middle Temple, the Book of Sales of the King's plate, and Jewels. I transcribed this for the Crowne, for which Mr. Simpson &c. were much beholding to me when King Charles the second's crown was made.

J : Aubrey

Sic transit Gloria Mundi.

It will be seen from the mention of 'a flower de Luce having the Picture of the Virgin Mary' on the king's crown, as well as the number of the crosses and fleurs-de-lis, that the

crown broken up by order of the Parliament was the one described in Henry VIII.'s inventory of 1520–1. The 'Small Crowne found in an Iron Chest' we also learn was 'King Edward the 6st Crown,' and the 'very rich one made pourposely for his grace' which was finally set on his head at his coronation.

The history of the King's Coronation Ornaments since the Restoration is accessible in so many well known works that little need be said here on the subject. Every effort was made in 1660 to replace the ornaments that had been destroyed, and as far as possible after the old fashion, and the existing regalia are for the most part those then made. But the time was not a favourable one from the artistic standpoint, and if the regalia are more tolerable in design than they might have been, they who refurnished the wardrobe certainly had less taste and knowledge than the goldsmith. In the case for instance of the vestments put on the king after the anointing, that most unsuitable and intractable material, cloth of gold, was chosen for the supertunica, the armilla, the pall, etc. instead of the beautiful silks with their graceful and clinging folds which were used in olden days. The succeeding period moreover has been one of gradual degradation, so that each coronation has produced something a little worse than the preceding, and at the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838 things had reached a very low level.

The form and order of the coronation of their Majesties King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra on 26th June next informs us incidentally that the King will enter the abbey church of Westminster in his crimson robes and a cap of 'crimson velvet turned up with ermins,' but there is no mention of the white and red shirts or the crimson cassock, with openings for the anointing, which of old time would have been worn under them. The *colobium sindonis* however is directed to be put upon him, and the *supertunica*, which is described as the 'close pall of cloth of gold, together with a girdle of the same.' Finally the King is to be invested with 'the Armilla and Imperial Mantle or Pall of Cloth of Gold.' It remains to be seen whether the boasted improvement in taste at the present time, and the more illuminating information at the disposal of the authorities, will lead to anything better than the result of a mere following of the hide-bound precedent of recent coronations. With respect to the regalia it is only

necessary to point out that the mistake of delivering the orb, which is identical with the sceptre with the cross, is to be continued; and to make the confusion worse, the final notice states that 'their Majesties will proceed through the Choir to the West Door of the Church, in the same way as they came, wearing their Crowns: the King bearing in his Right Hand the Sceptre with the Cross, and in his Left the Orb.' So that the King will perform the apparently impossible feat of carrying the same sceptre in each hand.

A little investigation on the part of those responsible would have shown them that previously to 1685, when the existing blunder was first committed by Sancroft, the orb with the cross was generally the sceptre delivered to the king after his crowning; and so long as he was seated in the church it was not unduly inconvenient for him to hold. But when at the end of the service the king exchanged his vestments and crown for others, the sceptre with the cross was put into his hand instead of the orb, owing to the greater ease and comfort with which that form of the ornament could be carried in the procession back to Westminster Hall.

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.

A FAMILY LEGEND: THE EMERALD RING OF THE PRESTON FAMILY.

THIS ring, which was recently exhibited at the Norwich Art Loan Exhibition, and which is undoubtedly of the Stuart period, was shown by a family of high standing in the county, settled at Beeston St. Lawrence in Norfolk since 1640, when they bought the estate, and has for many (certainly 120) years been believed by them to have been given to their ancestor Jacob (sometimes wrongly called *Sir* Jacob) Preston, 'a faithful servant of Charles the First,' on the scaffold. It is a 'doublet' of little intrinsic value and hardly what one would have expected a king to wear.

From the magnificent MS. history[1] of the Hundred of Tunstead, in which Beeston is situate, compiled by Antony Norris, Esq., of Barton Turf (the next parish to Beeston), who completed such history before 1782, we learn what was then his opinion of the story. He writes:—

> It has been said by the family of *late years* that Jacob Preston was a favoured servant of Charles I., that he attended him on the scaffold,[2] and show a ring which they say was given him by the King at that time, that he was so persecuted by the prevailing party that he was forced to live concealed for some time, on which occasion he used sometimes to be let into his own house here by a window in the middle of the night.

Norris points out that the existence of the ring, which he says 'no one out of the family ever heard of till of very late years,' is no proof, and the only thing they could show in corroboration of the story is a passage from Herbert, which

[1] Formerly in the Frere collection, and now in my library.

[2] He could not have been on the scaffold, for, as S. R. Gardiner, in his account of the execution, says, the only friend who attended the king on the scaffold 'was Juxon, Herbert having begged to be excused from witnessing the painful sight. No other persons were admitted to a place on the scaffold excepting Colonels Hacker and Tomlinson and the two masked figures of the executioner and his assistant,' and this is borne out by the early prints of the scene showing two executioners and three spectators only.

says that the king's body was delivered to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston and Joyner.[1]

He considered that the Preston was probably the John Preston, Esq., bow-bearer to the king, who was presented as a recusant in 1626, and was a recusant in arms against the Parliament in 1644, but I have satisfied myself that he could not have been.

Long before I bought the Norris MSS., or knew he had written on the subject, I had come to exactly the same conclusion as he had done as to the truth of the legend, so I will use his and my own material, drawn from calendars and books published long after his death, together.

John Preston, thought by Norris to have been the real man who accompanied the king, and who is known to have been a servant of the king and his bow-bearer, was certainly one of the knightly family of Preston of Lancashire, all devoted cavaliers; and names of no less than eighteen of them appear as such in the *Domestic State Papers*, the *Calendars for Compounding*, etc., etc., and in fact in all the cavalier literature of the period.

He might well have been attendant on the king, but recent researches show that the attendant who had to do with the king and his funeral was one Captain *Robert* Preston, whose name does not appear on the pedigrees of either the Lancashire or Norfolk families.

Mr. E. G. Atkinson of the Public Record Office, who has made the period his special study, has kindly sent me the following extract from the Exchequer Miscellaneous Rolls :—

> To Capt. Robert Preston one of the 4 gentlemen attending the late King in the Isle of Wight and elsewhere in full of his allowance of £200 per ann. for one year ended the last of Jany. 1648 in pursuance of an Order of the House of Commons 20 March 1647 and by warrant dated 26 April 1649 £100.

After this clear contradiction to the family story it is hardly worth while to point out its inherent improbability or to emphasize the facts that Jacob Preston, the hero of the tale, whose mother bought Beeston in 1640, and who was born in either 1613–4, had married and settled at Beeston and had four children before 1645–6, so is hardly likely to have been

[1] Captain Preston and Captain Joyner were in 1656 paid various sums for money spent at the funeral (*Dom. State Papers*, cxxix. 69).

following the Court before Charles' death in 1649, when he was thirty-six or thirty-seven.

The persecution tale is never now told, and in fact was unknown to the present family, so it is hardly necessary to point out that Jacob Preston, so far from being in hiding about the period, levied fines in the King's Court on Mich. 21 Chas. I. (1645), as to land in Gissing; in Mich. 22 Chas. (1646), as to land in Old Buckenham and Eye; and in Mich., 1650, in Witton, and again in 1656.

If he had been a Royalist and in trouble we should expect to find his name occur in the old list of Norfolk Royalists who compounded in 1655, but it does not do so. Nor does it, nor the name of *any* Norfolk Preston—Jacob or Robert—appear in the eight volumes of reports of the Committee for advance of money, or in the *Calendars of Compoundings*, which give the names of every one who was in the least degree interested on the Royalist side; nor in the list of those who were to have been decorated with the Order of the Royal Oak; nor in the list of Royalists published by the Camden Society; nor in Hotten's Royalist and Roundheads Army List; nor in the long list of Norfolk Compounders given in Mason's *History of Norfolk*.

In fact no negative evidence could possibly be stronger. The name is simply non-existent among the Royalists in the lists which detail all the sufferings and losses of the Astleys, the Kemps, the Anguishes, the Pettuses and all the few Norfolk Royalists. All the members of the Lancashire Prestons who were Royalists are to be found in these documents, but the same documents are absolutely silent as to a Norfolk Royalist of the name.

It would indeed have been strange if Jacob Preston of Beeston *had* been a Royalist, for his own associations and those of his family were distinctly with the other side.

The Christian names of Isaac, Abraham and Jacob in one generation speak for themselves as to the side the father and mother took in religion.

Before Charles' death he had married and had a family by the sister of Sir Isaac Appleton, who seven years before (in 1642) had been a Commissioner for prosecuting scandalous ministers. He was a J.P. and Custos Rotulorum in 1664, and I am inclined to think he may be the Jacob Preston of

Lincoln's Inn, Esq., who sold land in Gissing and Burston in 1642.[1]

His son Isaac [2] married the daughter and heiress of Charles George Cock of Norwich, one of Cromwell's Judges of the Admiralty.

The family, I believe, now consider that though Jacob married the daughter of a Roundhead he may have personally been on the other side, and argue that his first cousin Thomas Preston, the Herald, was presumably of Royalist opinion, as he was sent by Charles I. to Ireland in 1630 to acquaint the Lords Justices of the birth of Prince Charles. But he was then a Herald, and the fact that he was afterwards made Ulster King of Arms in 1633 seems to me to prove nothing.

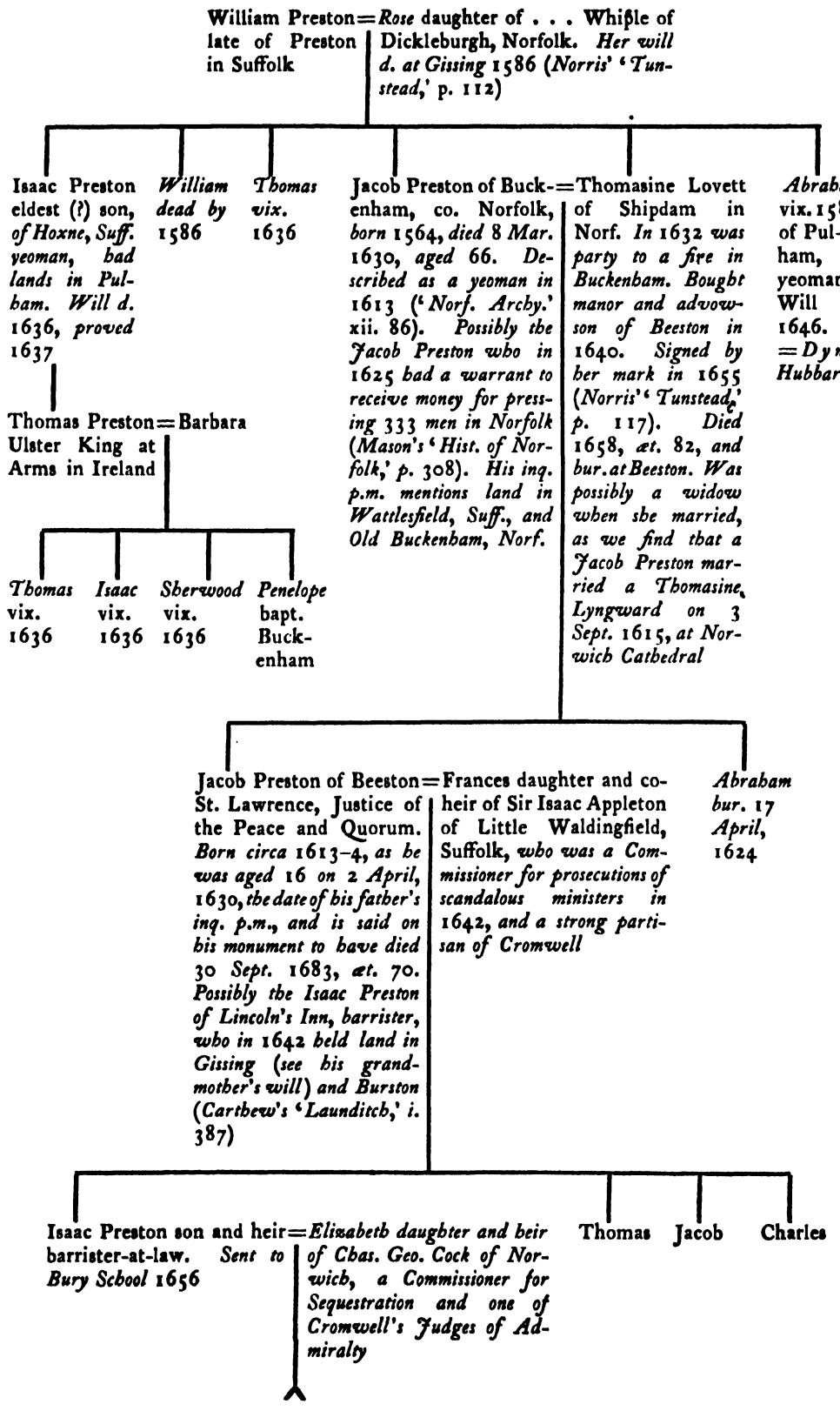
Heralds were privileged people, and it will be remembered that Sir William le Neve, who had been sent in 1643 to the Earl of Essex with a proclamation of pardon if his army would lay down their arms, was not disturbed in his office when the Commonwealth came into power, and kept his berth till 1658.

Norris rather doubts the authenticity of the entries of the baptisms of Thomas, Jacob, Francis and Charles Preston, in 1642–6, entered in the Beeston register, and points out that they are all in a different hand to the rest of the register, and considers Jacob to have been the son of Isaac Preston of Pulham in Norfolk, afterwards of Thelveton.

Yet the entry in the visitation of 1664, made while Jacob and his first cousin, the Ulster King at Arms, were alive, states the pedigree thus, the additions in italics being mine :—

[1] Carthew, *Launditch*, i. 38.

[2] This Isaac may be the Isaac Preston of Yarmouth who bought his freedom there in 1642, and who in 1650 received a captain's commission in the Commonwealth army, who in 1654 was associated with this Mr. Cock as Commissioner for scandalous ministers, who influenced the return of Colonel Wm. Goffe (the regicide) for Yarmouth, and who in 1657 was one of the Norfolk Commissioners for raising £60,000 for the use of the Commonwealth. But more probably this Isaac was his namesake and first cousin, the son of Thomas Preston, the Ulster King at Arms.



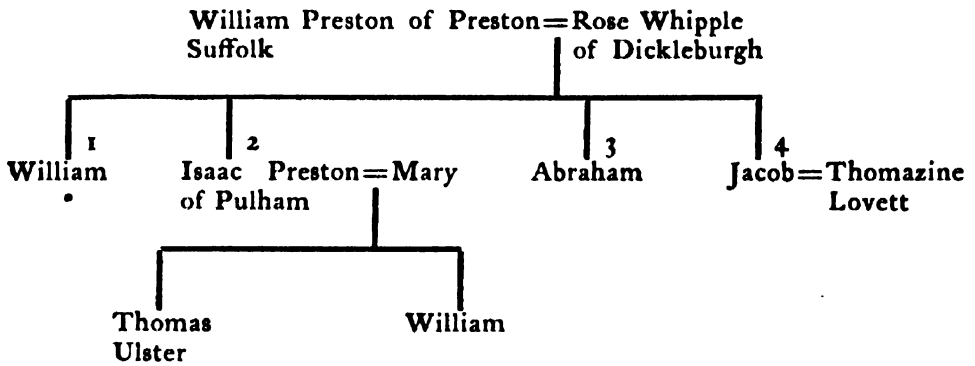
Now I cannot help believing this pedigree, and thinking that Jacob the hero of this tale and his first cousin the Herald

must have known their own grandfather's name, and that it *was* William, but that he came from Buckenham in Norfolk and not from Preston in Suffolk, and that when calling him Preston of Preston in Suffolk[1] they were laying down a fabrication for the use of future generations and with the idea of founding a territorial family.

As far as I can make out there never were Prestons of Preston in the territorial sense.

The only old Suffolk family of Prestons mentioned in Davy (p. 285) come from one Peter Preston of Micklefield, who died 1616, having also married a Thomazine.

All Davy says of this family is[2]—



That the Jacob Preston of Old Buckenham, who died 1630, and whose brass was moved to Beeston, came from the yeomen family of Preston of Pulham seems to me clear. But, with Norris, I have grave doubts if he bore arms in 1630, and think they were added to his brass afterwards.

Norris derives the Buckenham and Pulham Prestons from Isaac Preston of Thelveton by Diss, not far from Buckenham and Pulham, whose wife Margaret died 1540; and there are entries in the Pulham St. Mary Magdalen registers from 1558, though none of a baptism of a Jacob in or about 1564.[3]

[1] Of recent years the family have again stated their early pedigree with Prestons from the village of Preston, 'where its ancestors held rank as gentlemen in the reign of Edw. III.' But this is all Burkian flourish. There are Subsidy Rolls for Preston, Suffolk, for 39 and 43 Eliz. and 8 Jas. I., but the name does not occur in them or in the Suffolk Visitations. Isolated instances of people of the name 'de Preston' occur in the Suffolk Fines from 19 Hen. III. to 20 Ed. II., but the only fragment which might help to prove a Suffolk descent is that the Rev. John Preston in 2 Hen. IV. had to do with land in Whatefield, and Jacob Preston, who died 1630, is said to have had land in Whattlesfield.

[2] Add. MSS. 19,145, p. 283.

[3] The first layman of the surname I find in Norfolk is Henry Preston, who in 4 & 5 Hen. V. (1417–8) was party to a fine of the manor of Surlingham and advowson of Bramerton.

He suspects that the brass to Jacob Preston of Buckenham, who died 1630, was erected long after his death, and points out that the date was first cut 1627, which he considers shows that it was first put up when the exact date of his death had been forgotten. There is no doubt about the genuineness of the brass—or rather brasses—one with the arms and the other with the inscription, for they were seen and noted by Tom Martin and Blomefield long before they were improperly and foolishly removed from Buckenham to Beeston in 1808. It is not impossible however that the brass with the arms is of a later date than the inscription brass, and it is strange that the motto on it is the canting one of 'Pristinam spero lucem,' and not the more recent motto of 'Lucem spero clariorem.'

The crescent of the crest is marked with a mullet of five points, the difference of the third son, whereas Jacob, if he ever was entitled to arms at all, was the *second* son.

Let us now try to fix the identity of the Captain Robert Preston, the actual attendant on the king.

Though we have satisfied ourselves that the alleged recipient of the ring could not have been Jacob Preston of Beeston, as has always been alleged, it is possible that this Captain Robert[1] Preston may have been a kinsman of the Beeston family, and sharing its politics have been a servant nominated by the Commonwealth to attend the king, and while acting in that capacity may have behaved kindly to him and received the ring. The fact that Jacob had a son named Charles, born in 1646—Charles being a name I cannot trace in the family earlier—*may* show some sentimental good feeling in the Beeston family towards the king.

To begin with, we know for certain that the king's four attendants who received his body were Thomas Herbert (author of the well known *Memoirs*), Captain Antony Mildmay,[2] Captain Robert Preston and John Joyner.[3]

[1] There had been several Robert Prestons in Norfolk, e.g. Robert Preston nephew of William Preston, rector of St. Creak in 1509; Robert, freeman of Norwich in 1514; and Robert Preston, witness to the will of Nicholas Bell of Great Bircham, 1609; while later we find a Robert Preston freeman of Yarmouth in 1692, a fact doubly interesting in view of the connection between the Beeston family and Yarmouth.

[2] Possibly of kin to Sir Anthony Mildmay of Apthorp, Northampton, who died 1617, whose daughter and heir married Francis Fane first Earl of Westmorland.

In Heath's Chron. of the late Intestine war (fo. 1676, p. 221), Preston is

Herbert we know was a Cavalier, but may not some of the others have been Roundheads? Besides the funeral warrants mentioned above there are warrants,[1] dated November–December, 1648, to Mildmay and Preston *in payment of official services* in respect of the said captain's allowances of £200 each per annum as two of the four gentlemen attending the king in the Isle of Wight.

Now these payments would be excessive allowances if made out of compassion to two faithful Royalists who personally waited on the king (it is noteworthy I find no trace of payments to Herbert or Joyner, who are known to have been personally attached to him), but none too much for the pay of men who were practically responsible for his safe custody.

I expect Mildmay[2] and Preston were two of the 'staff of attendants appointed by the House to wait on the King,'[3] for Gardiner[4] refers to the king being accompanied in his flight from Hampton Court by Berkeley, Ashburnham and Legge, and on page 259 to his *own* attendants, Herbert and Harrington, but does not mention either Mildmay or Preston.

Now we come again to the question—Who was this Captain Robert Preston? As before mentioned, I cannot trace him on any pedigree, but it seems to me that he must have been the Robert Preston, otherwise Captain Robert Preston, who had been an active agent of, in fact an informer in the service of, the Commonwealth.

In 1643 (July 24) there is a complaint of one Raleigh Sanderson that he had been improperly denounced as a delinquent 'on the mis-information of Robert Preston,'[5] who later on[6] seems to have issued a writ of 'quo minus' on the same man's wharf at Shadwell.

On August 13, 1645, Captain Robert Preston (no doubt the same man) informed the Commonwealth that there were three trunks of goods at the Savoy belonging to one Alexander

called his server and Joyner family cook to the king. The last named being in a subordinate capacity did not apparently receive the high pay Mildmay and Preston did.

[1] Morrison MSS. 9th Rep. Hist. MSS. Com. p. 440.

[2] Antony Mildmay. Probably the same man had in 1644 been appointed agent for wine licences by the Commonwealth Revenue Committee (*Cal. for Com. for Compounding*, p. 1520).

[3] Gardiner's *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, iv. 17. [4] Id. p. 17.

[5] House of Lords MSS. p. 96. [6] Pp. 100, 101.

Courtney, who was in actual war with the Parliament.[1] Next year there is an order to the Committee for the safety of Warwick and Coventry to billet Captain Robert Preston.[2]

Then in 1648–9 we find the 'Captain Robert Preston' in attendance on the king, and as late as 1656 being reimbursed the money he had spent at the funeral;[3] and a few months later, on March 2, 1657–8, 'Captain Preston' is appointed one of the Commissioners appointed to examine Bailiff England of Yarmouth as to words spoken by him in 1649,[4] though of course the Captain Preston may be the Captain Isaac Preston of Yarmouth mentioned in note (2) on p. 85.

Further local inquiries may tell us more of this Captain Robert Preston, and enable us to ascertain if he had any connection, through Yarmouth or otherwise, with the Beeston family.

If it turns out that he had, it would give some sort of an explanation how the ring came to it, but a widely different one to the picturesque tale which has been so credulously believed for many generations.

WALTER RYE.

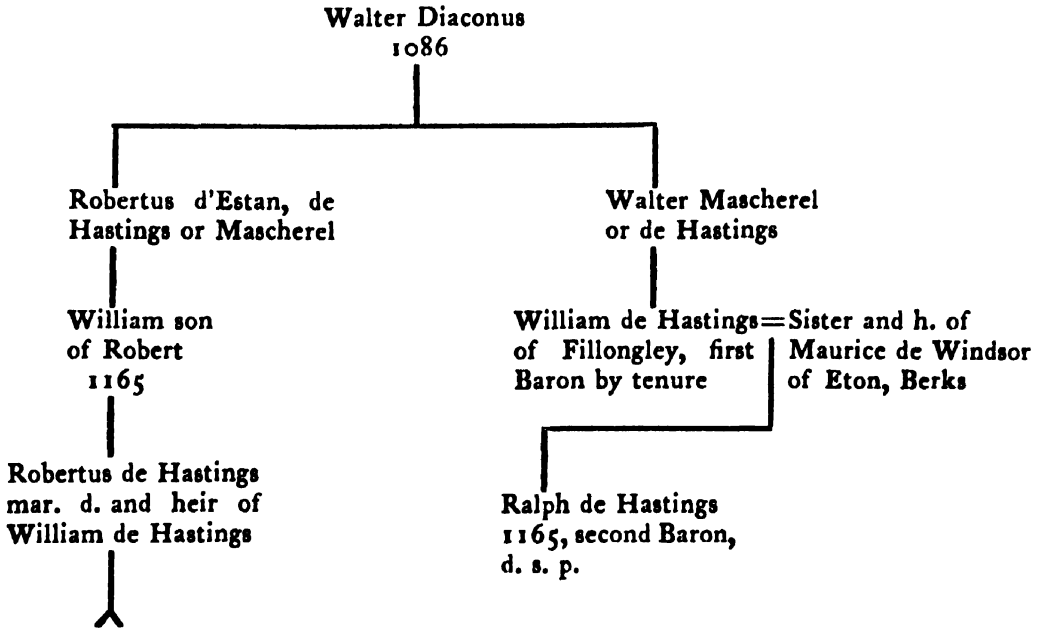
[1] *Committee for Advance of Money*, i. 49. [2] *Dom. State Papers.*
[3] Ibid. cxxix. 69. [4] Ibid. clxxx. 312.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FITZGERALDS

II

I PROMISED to deal in the second portion of this paper with the younger sons of Walter FitzOther, castellan of Windsor. Of these there has hitherto been recognized the existence of two only, namely Robert, who according to Dugdale, 'had Estone in Com. Buck.,' and Gerald de Windsor, ancestor of the house of FitzGerald. I hope to show that there were other sons; but we must first deal with Robert, whose paternity is clearly established.

A charter of Henry I. granted at Argentan in the Christmas of a year which is not named, but which must from the witnesses' names have been towards the close of his reign, speaks of 'Robert son of Walter de Wyndesore,' whose lands it confirms to his son William. Of this charter the text is given in the Harleian Roll (P. 8) and in the Inspeximus by Edward III. (April 10, 1336[1]). It is needful to insist on the identity of this Robert de Windsor, because, in an elaborate study on 'The Rise and Race of Hastings,'[2] Mr. G. T. Clark converted him into a Mascherel or a Hastings. The pedigree he gave was this[3]:—



[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1334–8, p. 249. Among its witnesses is Maurice de Windsor, to whom we shall next come.

[2] *Archæological Journal* (1869), xxvi. 12–9, 121–36, 236–56.

[3] Ibid. p. 129.

Mr. Clark, having wrongly identified Robert, proceeded to argue thus from his own erroneous conclusion:—

> It has been shown that Robert d'Estan or Mascherel bore also the name and was ancestor of a family of Hastings; there is therefore nothing improbable in Hastings having been also a designation of his brother Walter (p. 236).

Mr. Clark developed his error out of the original mistake by which Morant, the historian of Essex, had failed to identify rightly the 'Eistanes' of Domesday Book, which was Little Easton, now known as Lady Warwick's ancestral seat, but which he placed far away in the Hundred of Dengey.[1] One could not desire a better illustration of the mischief in county history that may follow from identifying wrongly a single Domesday manor.

Little Easton, wrongly described as 'Estone, Bucks,' by Dugdale,[2] was the head of a barony of ten fees which Robert de Windsor obtained in the days of Henry I. and which was subsequently liable, like the fief of his elder brother, to castle-guard at Windsor.[3] William the son of Robert obtained a fresh confirmation of it from Henry II., and William's daughter and heir brought it to a Hastings.[4]

The next of Walter FitzOther's sons—though not hitherto recognized as such—with whom we have to deal is Maurice. If, because he is once styled Gerald 'de Windsor,' the ancestor of the house of FitzGerald was a son of Walter, then *a fortiori* Maurice was so also, for he is repeatedly styled Maurice 'de Windsor.' The great interest of this affiliation is that it carries the name Maurice, afterwards famous in Ireland, a generation further back and takes it to a time when it rarely occurs.[5] We are indebted to Mr. Rokewode's preface to *Jocelyn de Brakelond*[6] for the text of some important charters relating to the great abbey of Bury St. Edmund's. Among them is one (p. 118) of Abbot Albold, belonging to the years 1115–9,

[1] *History of Essex*, i. 350, 466; ii. 430.

[2] *Baronage*, i. 509.

[3] See my paper on 'Castle-guard' in *Archæological Journal* (1902).

[4] It was in the time of Robert de Hastings that the return of knights for this fief was made, but it belongs to a later date than 1166, though included among the returns of that date in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (pp. 358–9) by the editor.

[5] The only 'Maurice' in Domesday Book is the newly-appointed Bishop of London.

[6] Camden Society's Series.

in which he grants to Maurice 'de Windleshore' the stewardship of the abbey with its curious privileges, together with the land of the previous steward (*dapifer*),[1] amounting to three knights' fees, which were increased by the addition of two others to five. Among the witnesses to this charter are 'Robertus de Wyndeleshore; Reinaldus de Wyndeleshore.' Another of these charters (p. 119) contains King Stephen's confirmation to Maurice of all his land and his office, etc., etc., as he held them in the time of Henry I. Lastly we have the confirmation of all this to his nephew Ralph de Hastings, who was holding the five fees of the abbey in 1166. Maurice is mentioned in several of the charters relating to the abbey; a writ of Henry I. issued during a vacancy is addressed to 'Eadnoth the monk and Maurice the steward (*dapifero*) . . . and all the barons of St. Edmund's Honour';[2] a Hengrave charter of Abbot Anselm is witnessed by 'Mauricius dapifer';[3] and another of his charters, apparently belonging to 1135–48, refers to proceedings before Maurice the *dapifer* under Henry I. and is itself witnessed by him.[4] Lastly, in a charter of Stephen's queen granted at Reading to the Templars Maurice de 'Wyndleshore' is a witness.[5]

Maurice was clearly in office or in favour with Henry I., for we find him excused his Danegeld on the Pipe Roll of 1130, and thus learn that he held land in no fewer than eight counties: Dorset, Essex, Northants, Norfolk, Suffolk, Beds, Berks and Middlesex. The fact that Maurice de Windsor died without issue is proved by the succession of his nephew Ralf as his heir in land and office.

As I have said, the name of Maurice suggests that of Maurice FitzGerald, the first member of his house to take part in the invasion of Ireland. As this suggestion strengthens the received version of their origin, I would call attention to the very interesting and little known document which proves that Maurice FitzGerald was made *dapifer* of St. David's pre-

[1] totam terram quam Radulfus Dapifer predecessor suus tenuit de Sancto Edmundo et totum dapiferatum de tota terra Sancti Edmundi cum omni consuetudine et omni liberatione que pertinet ad eundem dapiferatum, scilicet cum liberatione sua et clerici sui et viii hominum et viii equorum cum dimidio sextario vini si vinum affuerit et cera cum xxiiij candelis et cervisia. Cum vero Mauricius prenominatus ierit longe aut proprie in servicium meum ad custum meum ire debet honorifice sicut dapifer.

[2] *Gage's Hundred of Thingoe*, p. 276. [3] Ibid. p. 165.

[4] Ibid. p. 406. [5] *Monasticon*, vi. 843.

cisely as Maurice de Windsor, his uncle *ex hypothesi*, had been made *dapifer* of St. Edmund's. It is an *inspeximus* of certain charters, among which are those of David (FitzGerald), Bishop of St. David's and of his chapter, bestowing on Maurice FitzGerald the office and certain lands, together with that of Henry II. confirming the grant.[1] As the terms of the grant have a strong resemblance to those employed in the grant of the same office at St. Edmund's, I give them in a footnote for comparison.[2] In each case the grantee received not only the lands which had been held by his predecessor in office, but others in addition. The same document contains for us one more point of interest. The charter of Peter, Bishop of St. David's (1176–98), confirming the office of *dapifer* to Maurice's son William, has among its witnesses Walter de 'Vinsor,' doubtless the head of the family who was living under Richard I. This is, I think, the only charter that brings one of the FitzGeralds into connexion with a Windsor.

We saw above that among the witnesses to Abbot Albold's charter to Maurice was a Reinald de 'Wyndeleshore.' Mr. H. J. Ellis (of the British Museum) has kindly drawn my attention to the Reading Abbey charters in which he occurs as a witness. Queen Adeliza (widow of Henry I.) granted a rentcharge at Stanton, Oxon, to the abbey, her charter having as a witness 'Reginaldo de Wind'r';[3] she issued a writ relating to Stanton, 'teste Reinaldo de Wind'r, apud Arondelle';[3] and her husband William, Earl of Arundel (or of Lincoln) confirmed her gift of a Hertfordshire manor, his charter including as a witness 'Reginaldo de Windleshores.'[4] Mr. Ellis ingeniously suggests that he was the queen's *dapifer*, who witnesses two of her charters, as Rainald or Reginald *dapifer*.[5] Here then we have not only another member of the family, but another who was a *dapifer*.

At last we come to Gerald de Windsor (*Windesora*), ancestor of the house of FitzGerald. It is singular that the *Brut y tywysogion*, which has so much about him, persistently styles him Gerald the steward (*ystiwart*), that is to say *dapifer*.

[1] *Fourth Report Historical MSS.* App. i. p. 383.

[2] dapiferatum tocius terre Sancti Davit . . . et . . . omnes terras illas quas predictus Bernardus (episcopus) prefato Henrico (filio regis) cum dapiferatu dedit . . . per servicium dicti dapiferatus.

[3] *Archæological Journal*, xx. 287–8.

[4] Ibid. xxii. 153.

[5] Add. MS. 15,350, fos. 5, 5*d*.

But his grandson and namesake, Gerald 'Cambrensis,' the delightful though garrulous historian, styles him on one occasion 'Geraldus de Windesora.'[1] This appears to be the only ground for making him a son of Walter FitzOther, though the plain saltire borne by Windsors as by the FitzGeralds confirms, as Sir George Duckett has observed, their common origin, while carrying back the charge, apparently, to a very early date. Gerald is spoken of by his grandson as the constable and captain (*primipilus*) of Arnulf de Montgomeri, who raised the castle of Pembroke and placed him in charge thereof under William Rufus. His gallant defence of that fortress against the Welsh and the 'slim' stratagems (*figmenta exquisitiora*) by which he induced them to abandon the siege are narrated with delight by his descendant,[2] who adds that, to strengthen his position in the district, he married Nesta, the sister of Griffith, prince of South Wales, who bore to him famous children, 'by whom the southern coast of Wales was saved for the English and the bulwarks of Ireland stormed.'

The *Brut* tells us that, in the early days of the reign of Henry I., Gerald was sent with others to Ireland by his lord Arnulf to seek the hand of King Murcard's daughter for him and was successful.[3] On the fall of Arnulf with his brothers, Gerald obtained from the king the castle of Pembroke,[4] which he seems to have subsequently rebuilt 'in the place called Little Cengarth.' There 'he deposited all his riches, with his wife, his heirs, and all dear to him; and he fortified it with a ditch and wall, and a gateway with a lock on it.'[5] This was in 1105. Next year occurred the famous and tragic incident of the surprise of this castle by Owen son of Cadugan at night and Gerald's narrow escape, his wife and children being carried off by the fiery Welshman, an outrage which Gerald later on was able to avenge. Of Gerald's death we have no mention, but in 1135 and 1145 we hear of his 'sons' fighting the Welsh at the head of 'French and Flemings.'[6]

On these sons the best authority is their nephew Gerald the historian, whose autobiography contains a passage of great genealogical interest.[7] Towards the end of the reign of Henry II.,

[1] *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, p. 89. This is, so far as I know, the only mention of him by that name.

[2] Ibid. p. 90. [3] p. 69 (Rolls Series). [4] Ibid. p. 77.

[5] Ibid. p. 83. [6] See the *Brut* for all this.

[7] *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Rolls Series), i. 58–9.

Rhys ap Griffin, who had come to meet the envoys of the king, namely Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ranulf de Glanville, the chief justice, was sitting at table in the house of William de Ver, Bishop of Hereford (1186–99), between the bishop and 'Walter FitzRobert, a noble baron, who like the bishop was of the stock of the Clares' (*Clarensium*).[1] Gerald, historian and archdeacon, chaffingly congratulated the Welshman on sitting between two of the Clares (*duos Clarenses*), of whose inheritance, namely Cardigan, he was in possession.[2] The prince turned the jest aside by a graceful compliment, which the bishop returned, and 'after the midday slumber' they all went out on the lawn, where Rhys recited the names of the eight sons and two daughters who represented Nesta's 'matrimonial adventures.' William FitzGerald ('primævus') he named first,[3] Maurice fourth, and David the bishop last. He spoke of the lands they had acquired in Wales and of those they had conquered in Ireland, adding that 'their conquest there was great, if only they could keep it.' And this he added, observes the narrator, 'because these two nations, the Welsh and the Irish, ever feed upon the hope that they will recover the lands taken from them by the English.'

It is somewhat singular that Gerald 'Cambrensis,' who sang the praises of his family in no measured strains, says nothing, so far as I can find, of Gerald de Windsor's origin or of his Windsor relatives. 'Oh race! oh family!' he exclaims, 'ever viewed with suspicion, not only for the numbers of the race, but also for its innate energy. Oh race! oh family! sufficient of itself for the conquest of any kingdom, but for the envy their energy excites.'[4] In another place his ecstasy, as he thinks of his relatives' achievements, leads him into wild hyperbole.[5] A few lines before he had drawn a picture of some thirty members of the clan, mounted on

[1] Adeliza, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, married Aubrey de Vere, Great Chamberlain, father of Aubrey, first Earl of Oxford (*Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 390); Walter FitzRobert (lord of Dunmow) was son of Robert FitzRichard de Clare (*Feudal England*, pp. 475, 575).

[2] See *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, pp. 211–2.

[3] Compare *Expugnatio Hiberniæ* (Rolls Series), p. 214.

[4] *Expugnatio Hiberniæ* (Rolls Series), p. 326.

[5] 'Hoc etenim gentis hujus omen, et hæc conditio. Semper in armata militia cari, semper primi, semper, rebus in martiis, ausu nobili famosissimi. . . . Qui sunt qui penetrant hostis penetralia? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt qui patriam conservant? Giraldidæ,' etc., etc. (ibid. p. 335).

splendid horses, and apparently displaying shields bearing the same ensigns, in 1176,[1] a passage, if it could be relied on, which is obviously of great importance for the early use of armorial bearings and for their collateral adoption.[2]

I close this article with a chart pedigree embodying the results attained.

There is one point which has to be explained in connexion with this pedigree. The *Rotulus de Dominabus* (1185) shows us (pp. 18, 21, 46) William de Windsor's widow, Hawys, in the king's gift, with one son William (eighteen years old), who had been in her ward for nine years, and six or seven daughters. This would carry back her marriage to William at least as far as 1166. William appears to have had an earlier wife, the mother of Walter, his eldest son; but this evidence of the *Rotulus* shows that she can hardly have been Christina de Wiham (as I suggested in No. I. p. 125), who was holding her land on the Gernon fief in 1166. On the other hand, the argument there given as to a Christina having married a Windsor and brought him two manors on the Gernon fief remains unaffected, and is indeed strengthened by the fact that Walter de Windsor had a daughter and granddaughter respectively named Christiana.

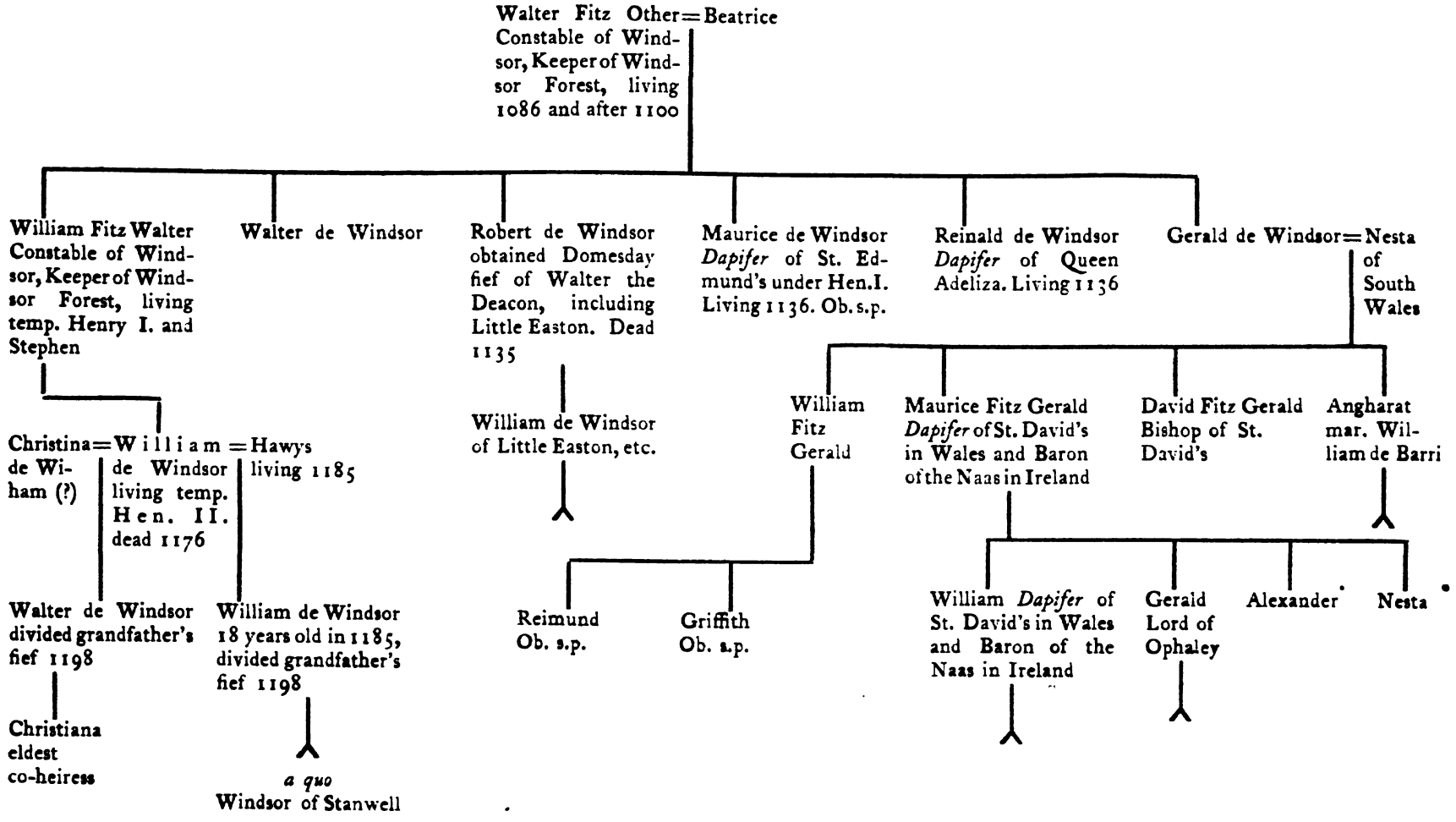
Another matter involved as yet in some obscurity is that Maurice de Windsor was succeeded by a sister's son. This cannot be accounted for on the basis of the pedigree as shown, but he and the mother of Ralf de Hastings may have been the children of Walter Fitz Other by another wife. It is also to be remembered that his lands and office had not come to him by inheritance, and that the succession therefore might not be regular or certain.

J. HORACE ROUND.

[1] *Expugnatio Hiberniæ* (Ed. Rolls Series), p. 335: 'clipeis assumptis unius armaturæ.'

[2] The thirty warriors in question would not be all descended from Gerald even in the female line.

FITZGERALD PEDIGREE



THE FLEUR-DE-LIS AND ITS VARIATIONS

CERTAIN fictile forms seem to spring naturally from the human mind. This does not solely apply to the strictly geometrical figures. It is equally true as regards such conventionalized emblems as the cross with expanded limbs (the so-called cross patée, or more corectly formée, of the heralds), the tau and the Ansata crosses, which we find in Egyptian, eastern, and in Central American memorial carvings, some of which belong to periods long anterior to the dawn of our own era, in certain instances occurring spontaneously in each region. An example of this appears to exist in the Fleur-de-lis.

In Europe from medieval times downwards force of circumstances has conspired to endow the beautiful figure with a peculiarly French character. The French themselves say that they owe their lilies to Clovis, and it is worth noting that according to a very old legend they were a gift direct from heaven to the first Christian king of the Franks, they having been brought by an angel to a pious hermit for transmission to the monarch. This in itself is evidence of the extreme antiquity of these emblems, an antiquity which shrouded their beginning in obscurity. It is true that opponents of the miraculous have assigned amusingly divergent theories as to this origin. Naturalists look upon it as the arbitrary form of the iris, supposed to have been used as a primitive sceptre for early chieftains; others think it is the riverside flag, the yellow flowers of which were plucked by the victorious soldiers of Clovis after the battle of Tolbiac to adorn their flowing locks, and so adopted as a royal badge. We are also told that it may be a painter's rendering of the bee, very doubtfully asserted to have been the badge of Childeric; or even the three frogs which foreigners attributed to the Gauls. But the two great opposing schools are those who believe the emblem represents the garden lily, the white lily of the Virgin Mary; and those who, with some show of reason, regard it as a war symbol, a beautiful partisan or pike head. If we consult old documents and monuments evidence may be found to support each of these theories and several more. Deeper study, however, can

lead to but one conclusion, and that is, the fleur-de-lis is a conventionalized marsh or water flower. Its prototype may have been the yellow blossom of the river flags, or the charming iris (which, by a natural transition, would be overlaid with gold, for 'painting the rose and gilding refined gold' has ever been a favourite pastime), or, again, it may have been the eastern lotus. Egyptians and Asiatics held the lotus sacred, not only as a food-giving plant, but as a symbol of fertility, the product of earth and water vivified by solar heat, exhibiting the striking phenomena of opening and shutting with the rise and setting of the sun. Hence it was sacred to Phthah, to Osiris and Isis, all relating to the Nile and its wondrous floods. In the east, Vishnu issues from the floating lotus, symbolizing the creation of the world from chaos. Possibly this lotus may have travelled westward through Greece and Rome. On the other hand, it belongs to the common fund of symbolism, and while the nenupha spoke of the life-giving overflowing Nile to the dwellers in Egypt, the lotus pictured fertility to the Hindoos, the iris and kindred growths budding luxuriantly on the river bank foreshadowed spring to others. It is certain that we find the Greeks and Etruscans using a fleur-de-lis, and generally in much the same sense as the Egyptians did the lotus, as a sign of plenty and happiness. In this sense too was it employed by the Romans on some of their coins and medals—the French say chiefly in connection with Gaul. It is notable enough that many of the monetary horns of plenty have a trifoliated object in the mouth of the cornucopia, and this occurs on coins struck in Rome as well as in the distant provinces.

The fleur-de-lis belongs to the mystic tri-parted symbols so early venerated; in later times, like the shamrock, it told the devout of the blessed Trinity; while still later heralds saw it in a painted sermon, silently appealing to knights and squires: the three lobes standing for 'Sapience, foy et prouesse.'

One difficulty in treating this subject is that in spite of the great diversity of shapes given to the fleur-de-lis—though throughout its primal character is maintained—it is practically impossible to assign dates to these different varieties as they are used simultaneously, especially so in the early days. For instance, we find a perfect conventionalized fleur-de-lis in the ancient hieroglyphics of Upper Egypt. In the Zodiac room

of the temple of Denderah were to be seen three floral sceptres —one is topped by a bell-shaped flower, a mere outline of the symbolical lotus; a second has a calyx formed of two sepals, with an inner lanceolate bud; the third has at the top two steps, from the smaller of which springs an exact fleur-de-lis of the strictest Bourbon period.

A complete fleur-de-lis consists of three petals, a transverse fillet, and beneath this the stalk. Sometimes filaments are placed between the central petal and outer curved ones.

In one type we find the two curved outer petals joined together and forming a cup or calyx, from the midst of which springs an upright petal. Usually the fillet is absent, and the stalk is not triparted but merely a straight stem. Examples of this are seen in the flowers among Egyptian hieroglyphics in the Louvre and Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum. The type is comparatively rare in heraldry. Dr. Bonavia regards this as the only true representative of the *Lilium candidum*, or Madonna lily.

The outer leaves in the best examples are not too large, and are well curved over. If of nearly the same size as the central petal, and made to stand upright with only their tips curved, an awkward combination is the result. Frequently the undercurved edge is serrated, unlike any true lily leaf.

The central petal may be long with a slight globular swelling near the top, or it may be of a more nearly oval form. Other favourite shapes are the squat club-like leaf seen on the Denderah sceptre, and the long diamond, of which rather handsome specimens are seen on French illuminations and carved work taken to Scotland by Queen Mary Stuart. As a rule the petal is unmarked, but occasionally it has a ridge down the centre, giving it a convex appearance. This is particularly noticeable in the pike or lance-head designs, in which the central lobe is made to assume the appearance of a double-edged weapon with more or less curved cutting edges. However, it also characterizes the three herbaceous-leaved lis, such as that seen as early as 1199 on the civic seal of Lille.

Perhaps the most puzzling part of the emblem is the fillet. It has no counterpart in the lily or iris, unless we take it to be a somewhat clumsy rendering of the calyx base, which has a rather marked series of protuberances in some of these flowers. This base may also account for the stalk of our typical lis. The fillet may be a thin, small band, constricting

the emblem, or holding the separate parts together. At other times it is thick and long, very prominent. It is sometimes treated like a coronet fillet and studded with jewels. It may be double or even triple. Dr. Bonavia regards this as the essential part of the fleur-de-lis, which betrays its symbolical value. To him the fillet is a ligature, attaching two curved horns to an upright tree symbol. He argues that the central lobe is the Assyrian date palm, and the curved outer petals and their stalks are the luck-bringing, evil spirit banishing sacred horns actually attached to the trees. This theory is, of course, equally applicable to those lis which are shown with the outer curved parts springing from the fillet itself, and having only a central stalk. In the first case he sees two pairs of horns, in the second only one pair. This would be giving a definite birthplace to the symbol, which may have been brought to Europe either by the crusading knights, or much earlier by means of the far-reaching Phœnician commerce.

As regards the heraldic stalk, we may have three short stems ; a short central and two long outwardly curving stalks ; a central long spike and two short curves ; or we may have practically a replica of the top part, and this repetition may be given such prominence as to detract from the elegance of the design. So far is this carried, indeed, that a double fleur-de-lis may be produced, as in the example drawn by Rey from a shield on a church at Altramura in the province of Naples. It appears to be the result of design, and not a mere whimsical exaggeration. It is constructed much on the principle of Jupiter's thunderbolt. Curiously enough we find a very similar object on the reverse of a British coin, ascribed to a king of the Iceni about A.D. 50. In many cases, and this is a characteristic of most of the badge lis on our Great Seals, the three petals and fillet form a single part, while the stalk is a small three-branched attachment.

It must be confessed that many European artists, even in early times, treated the symbol as though composed of three distinct parts, bound together by the fillet. Thus we have a central globular or lanceolate blossom with two leaves, each with distinct stalk, and not touching each other. In two quaint examples found on seals attached to abbey charters in France this independence of parts is made quite plain. That on the seal of Theobald de Blangy, recorded at Bayeux, consisted of an upright ear of wheat between two ragged leaves. That of

Robert Mahias, Knight Templar (Abbaye d'Aunay), has a central twig with alternate lanceolate leaves (perhaps this, too, may be an ear of wheat), between leaves having an upright shoot and an outward curved part. In this latter example there is no ligament. Yet in both instances, which belong to the thirteenth century, the general outline of the lis is preserved. Other examples closely allied to these are recorded at Aunay, Caen, and so on. This idea of the fruitfulness of the symbol is shown in another way. Often (both in heraldic painting and sculpture) the central lobe (and sometimes the three) is treated as though it were a pod partly burst and showing seed within. Or again we may have birds connected with the emblem. On the seal of Guillaume Baron, Knight Templar (Abbaye d'Aunay, 1260), we have a lis treated rather architecturally, the central lobe being a long oval cartouche with a fillet, apparently to represent a bud, between two curved leaves with serrated under parts, and a fillet. Standing on each leaf is a small bird pecking at the central bud. On the seal of Raoul de Carpiquet (Abbaye de la Sainte Trinité, Caen) is a fleur-de-lis composed of a curving calyx, fillet and triparted plain stalk, and a central oval seed pod, whence springs a sprig with seven filaments having trefoil buds at the ends. Clinging to the pod on each side is a bird pecking at the lowest blossom. On the ancient seal of the town of Liskeard, Cornwall, we find a large fleur-de-lis, with filaments between the centre and outer petals, and on the anthers of these filaments are perched two small birds. It is probable that in this case the small birds were originally intended for the eagles of Richard, second son of King John, King of the Romans and Earl of Cornwall. Both he and his son Edmond used the sable eagle of Rome and the bezants of Cornwall. It is worth noting that Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, bore: six golden eagles on a green field. No doubt this explains the presence of the birds on the Liskeard seal, but those on the seals of the crusading French knights suggest a curious connection with birds, winged figures, and men shown in Eastern symbolism as always guarding sacred trees, which Sir George Birdwood regarded as the 'witnesses' in connection with phallic worship. Did the supporting angels of the French king's golden lilies come from the same region?

May we explain that extraordinary anomaly, the leopard's head, *jessant de lis*, on which we see a lis thrust through the

mouth of a leopard, the stalk between its teeth and the three petals coming out at the back of its head, by a metamorphosis of the Egyptian and Hindu god-bearing lotus? On a beautiful sardonyx intaglio in the Demidoff Collection (shown in C. W. King's *Antique Gems and Rings*) we see Cupid rising from a pomegranate flower. On a sceptre shown in a painting at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, attributed to a Roman consul A.D. 525, we see a winged child issuing from a lis. A gold sceptre found in the tomb of Philippe le Bel, at St. Denis, had a serrated leaf on each side of a rod topped by an eagle with half spread wings. All these look very much like steps in the degeneration of the seed-bearing flower symbol.

The filament almost invariably springs upwards between the three petals, although a few rare instances are found of fleur-de-lis with filaments springing from the ligature outside the curved petals. Generally the filament bears at its end some kind of anther. This may be a mere ball, a concretion of small balls, or, as in the case of the so-called St. Louis example, it may take the form of a well marked trefoil. On some early Florentine coins the anther partakes of the character of a trident, or an open fleur-de-lis. A daisy ornament tip is also met with, as well as starred blossoms. When there is the filament with anther, and the petals are more or less decorated with serrations, curved over leaves, perhaps enclosing seeds, English heralds call it a 'fleur-de-lis flowery.' The French speak of it as *épanoui*, and the Italians as a *giglio Fiorentino*.

A quaint form of decoration adopted by a few early herald painters was to diaper the three petals: that is, to cover them with running floral or simple geometric patterns drawn in very faint lines. Occasionally examples of diapered fleur-de-lis are met with in carvings and on seals.

I have said that the lis belongs to the triparted class of symbols. This is true as a rule, for the pictorial idea appears to guide even the sculptor. But there are exceptions. The Bourbon crest, worn on the helmet and apparently on some of their crowns and coronets, had four curved petals and a central upright bud, either ovular or carved so as to present four club or pike faces. This method has also been adopted with some sceptres, and more commonly when forming architectural finials.

It is generally assumed that the earlier French monarchs

bore the lis 'without number,' 'powdered,' or 'semée,' and that the use of only three, two below and one above, came in with Charles V., some say in honour of the Trinity, others to denote the three races of kings. As a matter of fact, from the earliest times heralds treated the lis as a symbol of such importance that it could be shown singly. The royal shields appear semée, with ten (placed 4, 3, 2 and 1), and with only three, long before Charles' day. It even occurs that the three flowers may be borne not as a pyramid, but placed two above and one below. While most herald painters did not hesitate to slice off the lis in any way when decorating a 'powdered' field, others strove to get in regular lines and only show complete flowers. But in course of time there was evolved a variety named a 'fleur-de-lis au pied nourri,' when only the top petals and filaments are shown. It was evidently derived from the royal sceptre or crown, and was probably an augmentation granted by kings as a mark of honour.

In England the fleur-de-lis was used at least as early as the first half of the eleventh century. A good specimen is seen on the coins of Harthacnut (1039–41). It is also seen on the coins of Edward the Confessor and of Harold. On the Great Seal of Edward we find the king holding a sceptre with a trefoil, three well marked lobes forming a cross. On his crown we see trefoils round the band, but in the centre there appears to be a distinct fleur-de-lis. On the Conquerer's coins we find a lis sceptre and a flory cross. Henry II. has a crown decorated with lis on his Great Seal, and so had the Empress Matilda, but her sceptre is tipped with a trefoil, not cruciform like the Confessor's but approaching the form of the lis. After this the symbol appears on the whole series of our Great Seals. The sword of Edward I. has a pommel shaped like a lis. On Edward III.'s first Great Seal we see a large castle on both sides of his throne, and above these a small top-heavy lis, the three petals being of almost equal size, and the stalk very small. On his second seal the castles disappear and we have two large lis, with a big lanceolate upright petal and two well curved leaves, below the fillet small but well defined stalks. On his third Great Seal we find the monarch on horseback, with a shield quarterly, France ancient and England. These arms are on the horse's neck and hind quarters, while the background is diapered with lozenges containing a lis. The reduction of the fleur-de-lis to three on the royal coat of arms first appears on

the second Great Seal of Henry IV. Henry VI. had a special seal for French affairs. Thereon we see him with a fleur-de-lis sceptre : on his right is a crowned shield bearing the three lilies, on his left a shield quarterly France and England. Elizabeth has on her second seal two big *épanoui* examples, with very small filaments, and each petal shaped as a separate bud enclosing seeds. With the House of Hanover the lis often becomes deplorably squat, sometimes looking much like ill drawn three ostrich feathers.

St. Louis of France used many forms of the fleur-de-lis. On one of his seals it appears as a compact flower, with lanceolate central petal and two filaments with trefoil tips. It is sometimes named after him, but this variety was used both before and after his time. Indeed, many of Saint Louis' lis are very suggestive of metal work—lance heads, pierced and otherwise.

Artists have often adorned the petals, sometimes placing a small crown on the centre lobe, or topping it with a Latin or a Lorraine cross. We have already seen that the side leaves may bear birds. But in heraldry the lis is never charged with another object ; on the other hand it is sometimes placed on a rose, castle, etc., and it may be dimidiated : for instance, half a rose and half a lis being stuck together, or half a lis and half an eagle. Its decorative value is very great.

GUY CADOGAN ROTHERY.



FITZ ALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL



SAINT EDMUND.



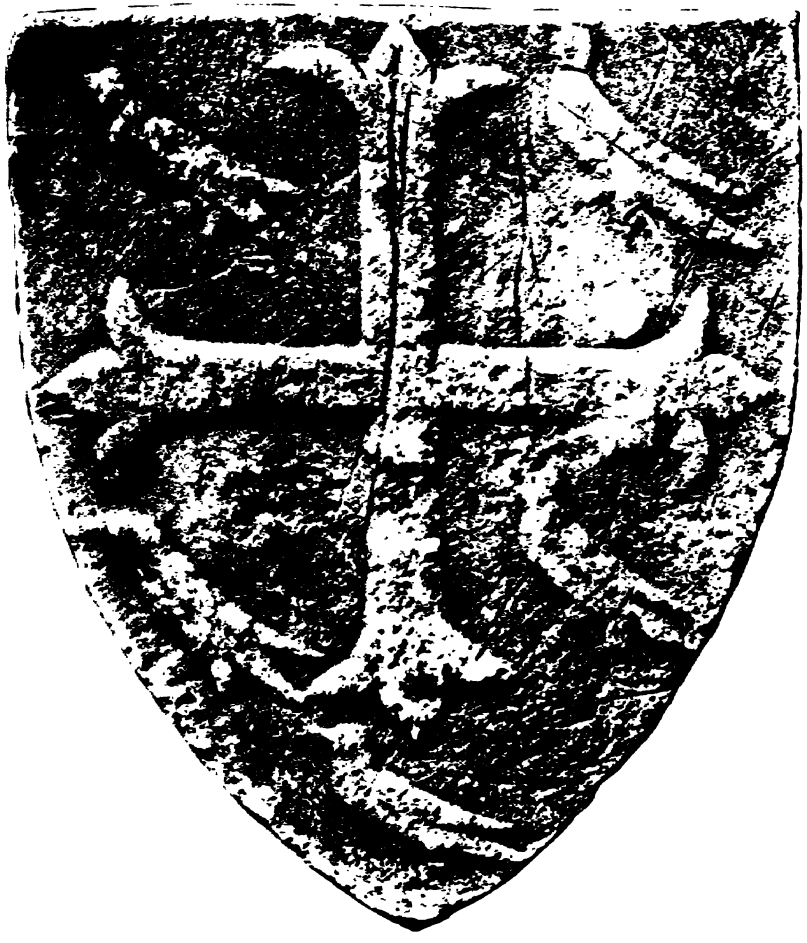
THE EMPEROR.



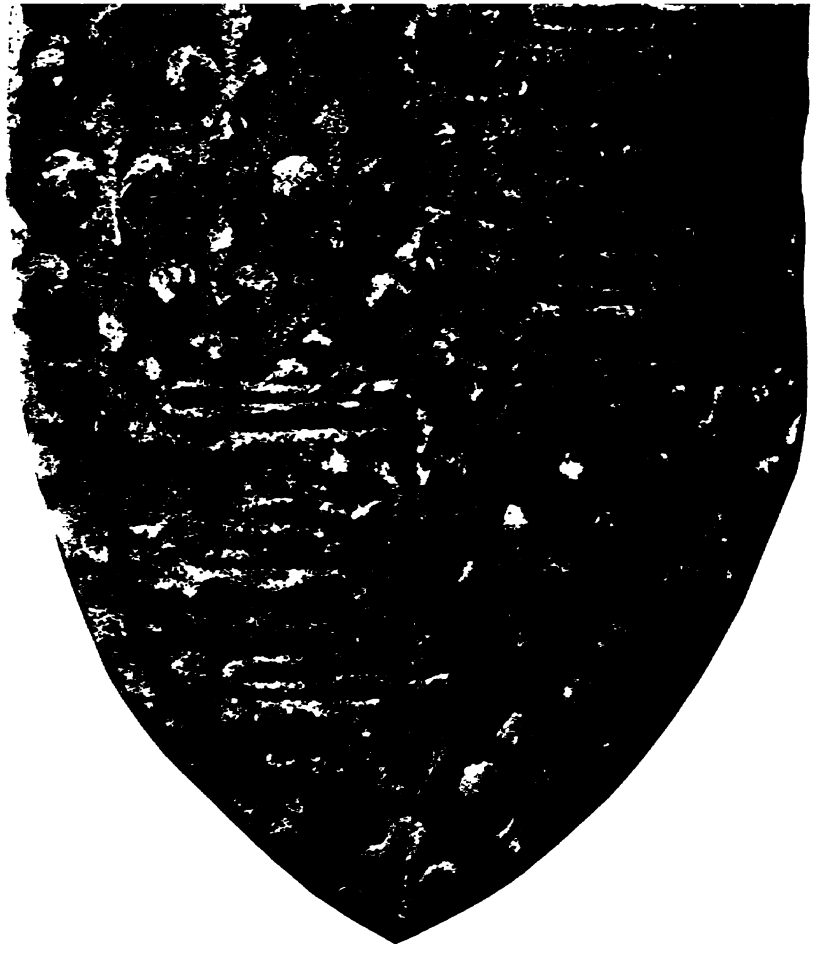
EDMUND OF LANGLEY AND ISABEL OF CASTILE.



EDMUND OF LANGLEY.



SAINT EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.



THE KING OF ENGLAND.

THE SHIELDS OF ARMS ON THE TOMB OF EDMUND OF LANGLEY

EDMUND OF LANGLEY, Earl of Cambridge, Duke of York and a knight of the Garter, fifth son of Edward III., was born at Kings Langley in Hertfordshire on February 2, 134$\frac{0}{1}$. He married Isabel, the younger daughter of Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon, who died in 1393 and was buried at Kings Langley, where her husband, who died August 1, 1402, was buried beside her. His second wife Joan, daughter of Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent, survived him.

Their tomb, once in the church of the Friars Preachers, has been moved to the parish church of Langley, where it now stands within a screened space at the eastern end of the northern aisle. A piece of an altar stone of Purbeck marble, three of its consecration crosses still to be seen, covers the tomb. Formerly twenty shields ran round it, of which thirteen remain, the seven along one length having been destroyed when the tomb was set up against a wall.

These thirteen shields have been reproduced in the present number of *The Ancestor*, some by permission of the Society of Antiquaries from plaster casts in their collection, and others from casts taken by the editor of this review. Although some of the charges have been sadly fretted by time, enough remains to afford us a useful picture of heraldry at the transitional period when the vigour of fourteenth century art was in the beginning of its splendid sunset. No trace of colour is left upon the alabaster of the shields, which must have been gay with vermilion and gold.

The shields may be thus described. At the north end of the tomb three shields :

i. A cross paty between five martlets. SAINT EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.
ii. The old coat of France quartered with England. RICHARD II.
iii. Three crowns. SAINT EDMUND.

On the length of the tomb seven shields :

iv. An eagle with two heads. THE EMPEROR.
v. France and England with a label. THE PRINCE OF WALES.

vi. France and England with a label, with a quarter (for Clare) on each pendant of the label. LIONEL OF CLARENCE.
vii. France and England with a label, with three roundels on each pendant, impaled with Castile and Leon. EDMUND OF LANGLEY and ISABEL OF CASTILE.
viii. France and England with a label, with three roundels on each pendant. EDMUND OF LANGLEY.
ix. France and England with a border. THOMAS DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.
x. France and England with a label having two pendants of Brittany and three pendants of France. HENRY OF BOLINGBROKE.

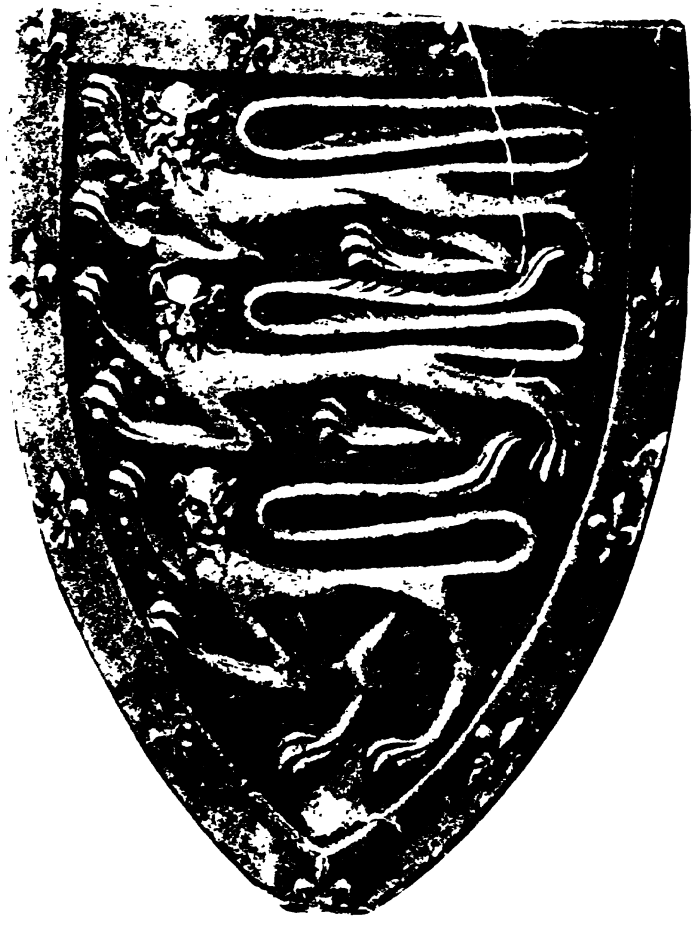
At the south end of the tomb three shields :

xi. England with a border. HOLAND EARL OF KENT.
xii. England with a border of France. HOLAND DUKE OF EXETER.
xiii. A lion rampant. FITZALAN OF ARUNDEL (grandfather of Joan of Holand).

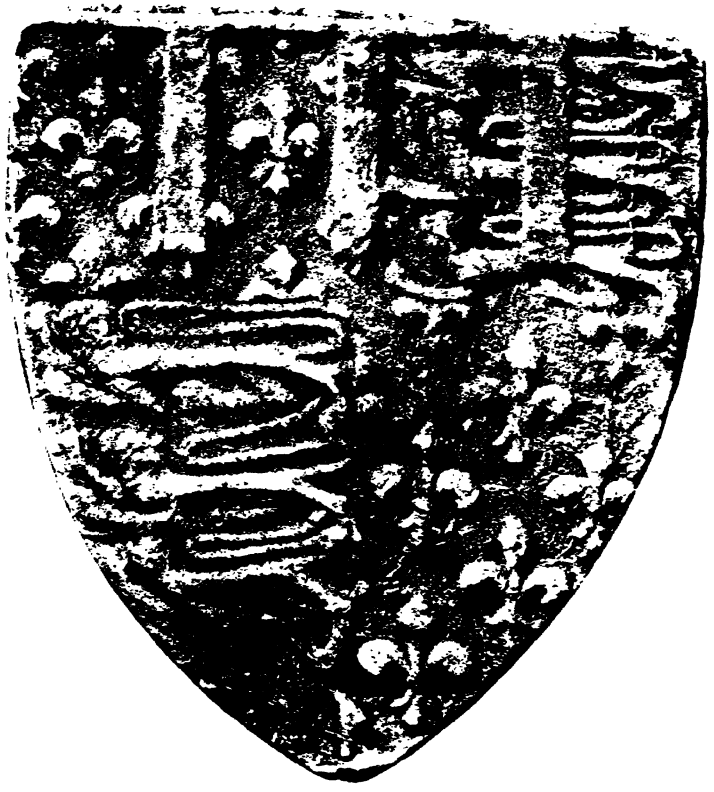
The tenth of these shields bears a coat said to have been borne by Henry of Bolingbroke from the death of John of Gaunt on 3 February $\frac{1399}{1400}$, to 30 September next following, when he succeeded to the throne, which affords the strong presumption that this monument was set up in the year 1400. The tomb therefore was made by Edmund of Langley during his lifetime, following a practice not extinct even in our time. The shields he set round his tomb need no explanation of their being chosen. The king's arms are set between those of the two royal saints. The others are those of Edmund and his wife, of the king's brother-in-law, the Emperor Wenceslaus, of Edmund's three brothers—the Black Prince, Clarence and Gloucester—of his nephew Bolingbroke, and of his wife's Holand and FitzAlan kinsfolk.



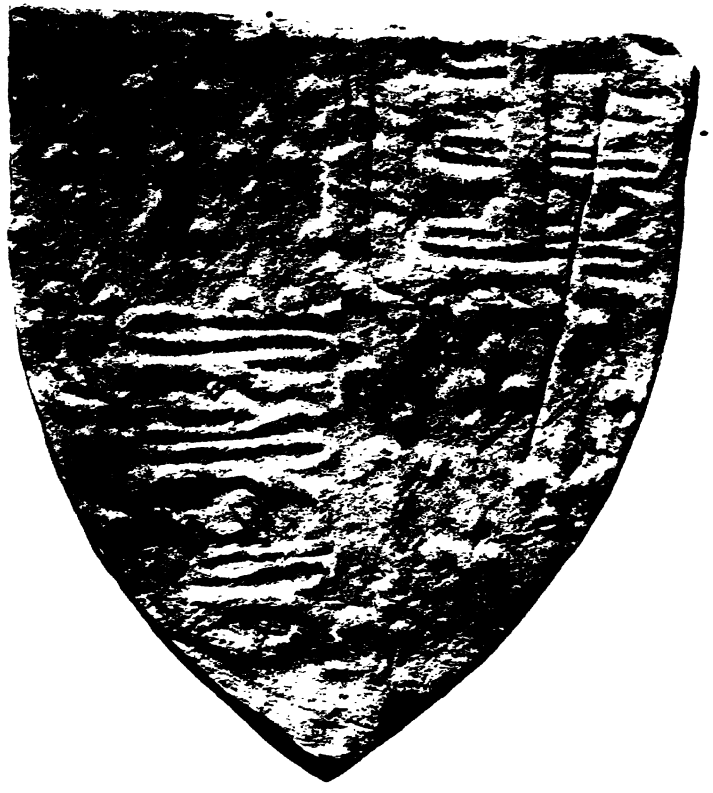
HOLAND, EARL OF KENT.



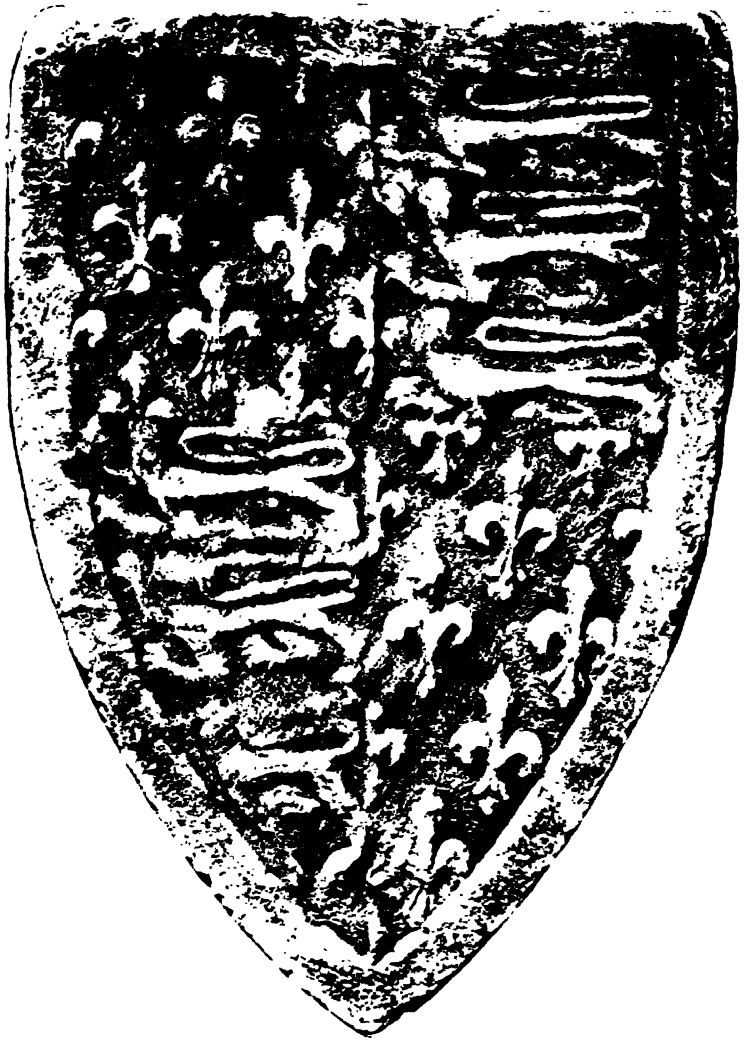
HOLAND, DUKE OF EXETER.



THE PRINCE OF WALES.



LIONEL OF CLARENCE.



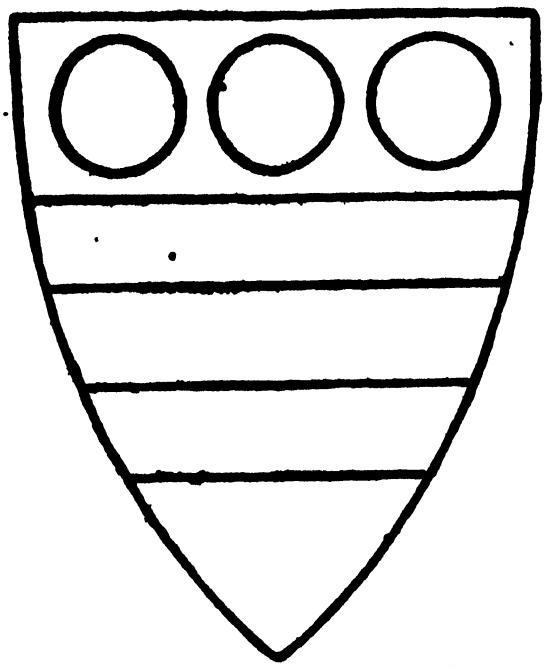
THOMAS DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.



HENRY OF BOLINGBROKE.

OUR OLDEST FAMILIES[1]

I. THE WAKES



THERE was a time when the compilers of peerages were wont to assign to the families of most of their patrons a Norman origin. To have received a patent of peerage in the reign of George III. argued that the subject so honoured came almost of necessity in a right line from a companion of the Conqueror. King George himself possessed a true pointer's nose for that Norman blood so highly esteemed in those pre-Tennysonian days, and was of opinion that all country squires in whose veins it coursed should be baroneted when found. 'Lovet!' he is reported to have exclaimed on hearing that a gentleman before him was of that surname. 'Lovet! Lovet! One of the old Norman families! Why isn't he a baronet?'—and a baronet Mr. Lovet became. Such was the rule, although playful originality caused some few peers and baronets to range themselves with 'the Saxons.' Stourton pointed proudly to Botulph, his gigantic forefather, who, garrisoning the gloomy passes of Salisbury Plain, forced the Conqueror to terms. 'Crocker, Cruwys and Coplestone,' when the Conqueror came westward he 'found them at home,' as the old rime declares. Further north he found Shirley, seated at Ettington so long that it might be doubted whether he was not rather an Ancient Briton than a Saxon. Amongst the families who were really of ancient origin the choice of forefathers was often an unfortunate one. Neville and Fitzwilliam, each of English descent, chose to regard themselves as typical Normans.

[1] For details of the scheme of this series see *The Ancestor*, No. 1, p. 278.

Shirley of Ettington on the other hand was in reality one of our invaders, and came over, as the Slys did, 'with Richard Conqueror.' It has been already announced that it is proposed to set forth in *The Ancestor* a list as perfect as may be of the existing landed houses whose pedigrees can be traced as far as the twelfth century. The two of which we shall treat in our present issue—the Wakes and the Tichbornes—each exhibit this perversity of tradition.

Amongst the charters of the Abbey of Saint Sauveur in the diocese of Coutances, is a deed whereby Richard Wach gives to the abbey of St. Sauveur a rent in the parish of St. John of the Oaks in the island of Jersey, in frank almoin for the souls of himself and of his father and mother.[1] It is undated, but a deed of William Bishop of Coutances, referring to matters in debate between the monks of St. Sauveur and one Richard Wace, apparently identical with the above Richard, is dated in 1120.[1] The last witness to the former deed is 'Alveredus clericus pro anima Hugonis Wach,' which gives us the suggestion that the dead father of Richard was Hugh Wach. Here it may be we have the remote ancestors of the Wakes, but whether this be so or no, we are soon upon firm ground. In 1168 Hugh Wac gives in alms to the church of St. Mary of Longues, where he has founded an abbey, two-thirds of the tithe there. After his death Baldwin Wac his son is found renewing his father's charter to the abbey of Longues, Hugh Wac the younger being a witness. Hugh Wac the father of Baldwin is a figure well known to the genealogist. He made a great match with Emme, the daughter and heir of Baldwin fitz Gilbert (of the house of Clare). With her he had the barony of Bourne in Lincolnshire, which her father had held in 1130. He was probably with King Stephen at Stamford in 1142, when a certain H[ugo] Wac attests a charter which Mr. Round assigns to that date.[2]

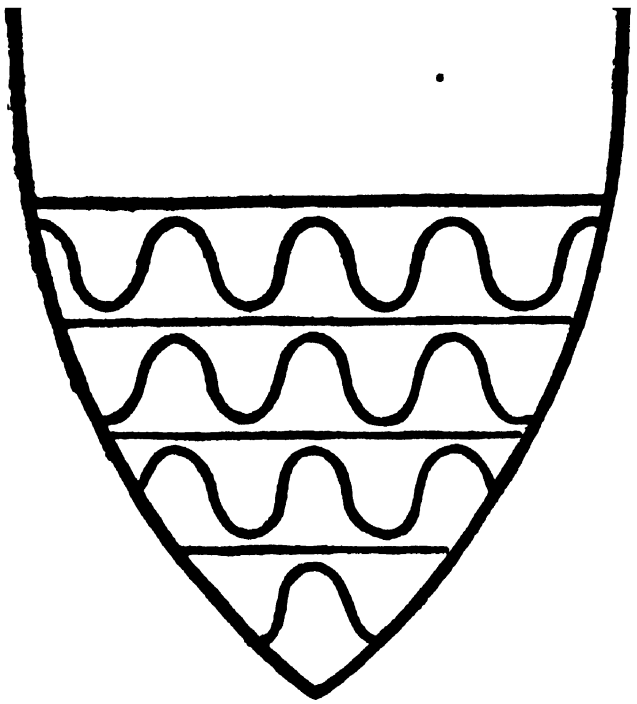
His son Baldwin Wac, the renewer of the charter of Longues, married Agnes the daughter of William de Hommet, the constable of Normandy, with whom her father gave in frank marriage the lands of Winchendon in Buckinghamshire.[3] Baldwin Wake, son and heir of the last Baldwin, married the

[1] *Cartulaire de la Basse Normandie.*
[2] *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 159, 160.
[3] *Coram rege*, East. 5 Hen. III. m 1.

daughter of William Briwere, sister and co-heir of another William Briwere. Baldwin being dead, the king on 21 July, 1213,[1] gave to William Briwere his father-in-law the wardship of his lands and heir, with the marriage of Isabel his widow, daughter of the said William. Hugh Wake, the son of Baldwin, made another of those marriages which were building up the importance of the family. Joan was his wife, a daughter and co-heir of Nicholas de Stutevile by Dervorgil his wife. She became sole heir of her father after the death of her sister Margaret. On 19 October, 1233, the king ordered seisin of the lands of Nicholas de Stutevile to be given to Hugh Wake, husband of the one daughter, and to the guardian of the other daughter. After the death of Hugh Wake at Jerusalem in 1246 Joan de Stutevile remarried Hugh Bigot the justice. Baldwin Wake was her son and heir, born about 1238, being returned as aged thirty-eight years in the inquest after her death. On 1 May, 1276,[2] the king took his homage as son and heir of Joan de Stutevile, and in 1280 he is styled son and heir of Hugh Wake and co-heir of William Briwere.[3] He was dead on 10 February, 128½, when the king ordered the lands which he had held in chief to be seized. Marriage brought to this Wake, as to his fathers, added wealth and importance. He married twice, his first wife Ele de Beauchamp being sister and co-heir of William de Beauchamp, baron of Bedford, who was killed on the barons' side at Evesham. By her he had three daughters only. His second marriage was with Hawise de Quency, daughter of Robert de Quency, whose sole heir she became on the death of her sister Joan in 1283. Baldwin Wake fought in the cause of the barons, but was allowed to return to his allegiance. His son and heir, John Wake of Liddell in Cumberland, fought in the wars in Gascony and Scotland, and was summoned to Parliament as a baron by writs dated from 1 October, 1295, to 19 December, 1299. He died in 1300, leaving his son and heir Thomas Wake, second and last Lord Wake of Liddell, a child of two years. Thomas Wake, the last of the direct line of Wake, made the greatest of the Wake marriages by matching with Blanche of Lancaster, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III. Under Edward II. he was the queen's man, and she made him a justice of the

[1] Close Roll, 15 John, m. 8. [2] Fine Roll, 4 Ed. I. m. 21.
[3] Close Roll, 8 Ed. I.

II. THE TICHBORNES



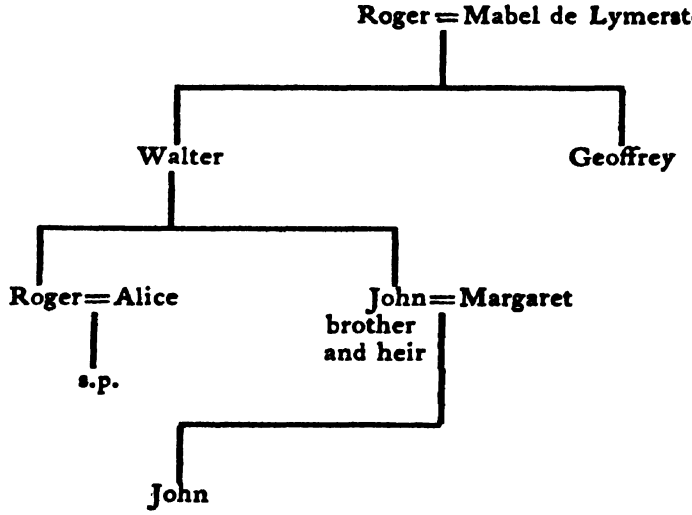
The claim of ancient descent cannot be disputed when it is put forward by one of those few families who have never parted with the house and land from which they take their name. The Tichbornes are still of Tichborne and have been so in an unbroken line from the days when surnames were first assumed. The great pedigree of the house drawn up in the seventeenth century is content to trace them from Roger de Tichborne, *miles strenuus*, a lord of Tichborne who flourished under Henry II. The genealogist however can now take the line a step further back, and Roger may be given Walter for a father. Tradition is naturally scornful of such a grudging concession, and Tichborne is everywhere recognized as a family whose Saxon lineage would have satisfied the thane of Rotherwood. For the Tichborne pedigree in the full limelight of legend the reader may be referred to the back numbers of the *British Archæological Journal*, and to Mr. F. J. Baigent's essay therein upon the Tichbornes and their descent from the Lady Mabel, heir of the Lymerstons of Lymerston. Research is outstripped at the start—'the family of Tichborne are well known to be of Saxon descent, and date their possession of the manor of Tichborne two hundred years before the conquest.' Of the family of Lymerston of Lymerston it was difficult to treat as fully as might be desired, for its members carried their island shyness to such lengths that no one of the name could be discovered in any available document, and the earlier lords of Tichborne guarded their own privacy as jealously as did the allied house. Mr. Baigent was at no loss to explain the meaning of the absence of the Tichborne forefathers from the records of their country. The conquering, curfew-ringing hordes of the Norman are to be blamed. 'From history we

learn how it fared with those of true and noble Saxon descent when the Norman entered and a mighty monarchy laid in blood, bound by laws of iron, ruled over England's destinies. The family of Tichborne for a period remained in obscurity and was not seen or heard of in the courts of kings or moving to and fro amongst the nobles of the land.' Doubtless the pre-conquest records of such a house were burned by the Norman with envious glee. 'But when the first of the Plantagenets ascended the throne and the Saxons were allowed to resume their wonted places of honour and no longer looked upon with scorn by those of Norman blood—the chroniclers tell of a gallant crusader, whese name and prowess were known far and wide, Sir Roger de Tycheburne, who oft had waved the standard of the cross high above the infidel Moslems and Saracens, and for these deeds of high emprise and love he was rewarded by the hand of the fair Lady Mabella, the heiress of De Lymerston, for—"right faithful true he was in word and deed."'

Now it is indeed possible that Sir Roger in word and deed was all that his panegyrist might claim for him. The red cross may have been his only wear and the path to the Holy Land as familiar to his feet as the high road to Winchester. To wave the standard high above the infidel Moslems and Saracens may indeed have become with him one of the rooted habits of his strenuous manhood, and one well deserving the hand of the fair Lady Mabella. But here again we face the Tichborne nature, shy and reticent. The chroniclers who told of these deeds omitted them in their definitive editions, and for proof of the crusader's prowess we must be content with the epithet of *miles strenuus* applied to Sir Roger in a pedigree made five hundred years later for his remote descendant, a citizen and draper of London, whose exploits in the field as colonel of the Yellow Regiment of London Militia are certainly mentioned by the chroniclers of his day, but in lukewarm terms. For the legend of the Saxon Tichbornes authority may be quoted, but our authority is of the date of 1586. Master Chidiock Tichborne, a remote cadet of the Tichbornes of Tichborne, having wasted his estate in riotous living, fell amongst dangerous companions, and was at the last laid by the heels with Ballard and Babington for plotting against the life of the 'bright occidental star, Queen Elizabeth.' He suffered in Lincoln's Inn Fields the fearful death which waited for his like, and left behind him a widow and orphan, three exquisitely

turned verses of farewell, and a speech of wailing regret in which he asks pity for his sad case. 'I am descended,' he said, 'from a house, from two hundred years before the Conquest, never stained till this my misfortune.'

Here then, in the reign of Elizabeth, we have the Tichborne legend in flower, but in that reign the imaginative genealogist was in his golden prime and poor Chidiock's speech carries as little weight with the genealogist as did his bitter plea for mercy with the unmoved Walsingham. What shade of evidence can be found in the first records of the family tells, if anything, against the Saxon legend. In 1166 the Bishop of Winchester returned that two knights' fees were held of him by Roger de Thikeburne, which had been held by Roger's father Walter in 1135.[1] This Walter also occurs in the Survey of Winchester in the time of King Stephen. By a deed now existing and made between 1160 and 1169 his son Roger quitclaims to the Bishop of Winchester certain lands in Alderwic, Hortun and Winchester, with a mansion without the King's Gate at Winchester which his ancestors held, and the bishop therefore grants to him two hides of his demesne in Tichborne, which Roger[2] claimed to hold in fee farm. Walter de Tichborne, who succeeds him in the pedigree, occurs as a witness to several of the Selborne charters between 1230 and 1238, but although there seems little doubt that the lands of Tichborne descended in the same family, much difficulty must be encountered in reconciling the accepted statements with regard to the exact line of descent. The family genealogy gives us the following pedigree from Roger (the son of Walter):



[1] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 205.

[2] This Roger is also found as a party to a fine in 1 Ric. I.

Of Roger, the husband of Alice, we have ample evidences. By an existing deed which must be set down as of later date than 1252 he quitclaims to the chapel and chaplains of Lymerston the land in Langred in Brading which his uncle Geoffrey gave to the said chapel. The seal of this deed affords us the earliest example of the arms of Tichborne—vair with a golden chief. Roger is represented as armed and on horseback and carrying a shield upon which the field of vair and the chief may still, it is said, be traced. In 40 Hen. III. he is not yet a knight, for in an assize roll of Hilary term 40 Hen. III. (1255/6) he is presented as holding a whole knight's fee in the hundred and as being of full age and not yet a knight. In a deed undated (before 1260) and in another executed about 1266[1] he occurs as a witness, being then a knight. But in another of the Selborne charters, to which a date of 1240 has been assigned, occurs a Sir Roger de Thycheburne, *knight*, for whom no provision is made in this pedigree, one Henry de la Charite (*de Caritate*) granting him 'in arduo negocio meo' his tenement of the Rode (in Selborne) for seventy marks. In this tenement of the Rode Alice the widow of Roger claims her thirds after the death of her husband, and it remained in the family until another Roger de Tichborne in 1338/9 granted it to the Prior and convent of Selborne in consideration of their maintenance of a chantry priest celebrating in Roger's new chantry which he had established in the chapel of his manor of Tichborne.[2]

It may be that in this Sir Roger of 1240 we have the ancestor who married 'the Lady Mabella' for whom a single evidence may be found. In Michaelmas term 40 Hen. III. (1256) Mabil de Tycheburne is party to a fine of a messuage and land in Lymerston, which are to be held of the said Mabil for life by Hawise, daughter of Geoffrey de Loges, which Geoffrey, by the way, is a suggestive contemporary for the Geoffrey de Ticheborne, whom Roger styles his uncle in the Langred deed quoted above. It is at least difficult to believe that in Mabil who is thus associated with Lymerston in 1256 we have an heiress who could have been married to a crusader whose father flourishes about 1135, himself being party to the deed of exchange of 1160–9.

From Roger de Tichborne, the husband of Alice, few difficulties are encountered. He is dead in 1275 when his widow

[1] *Selborne Charters.* [2] Ibid.

Alice sues John de Tichborne his brother for dower in the manors of Tichborne and Lymerston, and in the tenement of the Rode and elsewhere.[1] He was coroner at the time of his death, as we learn from a plea concerning a baby whom its mother had drowned in a mere.[2] The finder of the body had been attached by Roger as coroner. Roger had since died, and in 1280 none answered for him, as his son (*sic*) and heir John de Tichborne was within age and in the wardship of Geoffrey de Pycheford. His widow Alice remarried with Walter Drueys, who with the Abbot of Wherwell had been an executor of her late husband. In a plea of dower which Walter Drueys and Alice his wife bring in 1280 concerning a messuage and land in Bryston the defendants call to warrant John, son and heir of John de Thycheburne, who is within age and in the wardship of Geoffrey de Pycheford aforesaid.[3]

This John, then within age, becomes a knight and a sheriff and is the undoubted ancestor of Sir Henry Tichborne, who is lord to-day of John's manor of Tichborne. Benjamin Tichborne the first baronet of Tichborne was so created by King James on 8 March, 162$\frac{9}{1}$. Sir Benjamin and his successors were devoted followers of the Roman obedience, and a long list of Tichbornes suffered death, imprisonment or heavy fines for their faith. In the cadet branches of the family no such consistency is to be found. In Dr. Tichborne, a chaplain to King Charles I., we have a clergyman whose matrimonial and financial adventures caused no little scandal in his day. The Surrey Tichbornes as they sank in fortunes followed the new sect of Quakers, and strangest ornament for the pedigree of a house of Romanist cavaliers we have Robert Tichborne, son of a citizen and skinner of London and nephew of the adventurous Doctor of Divinity, becoming a Puritan alderman and Lord Mayor of London, rising to a seat amongst Oliver's peers and dying prisoner in the Tower. His signature and his seal of the arms of Tichborne are found amongst those appended to the death warrant of King Charles.

That this family with its venerable tenure of its home should ever have coveted such additional honour as might be derived from a descent from shadowy crusaders and from Anglo-Saxon thanes who are less than shadows is an example

[1] *De banco Trin.* 3 Edw. I. m. 7.
[2] Assize Roll, No. 787, octave of St. Martin 8 Edw. I. (1280).
[3] Ibid.

of the pedigree-maker's perversity. A family whose first ancestor, found under Henry I. with the oversea name of Walter, is followed by Geoffreys, Walters and Rogers, without an English name amongst them, would have shown more of the historical instinct had it decided to come over, like its less imaginative neighbours, with King William the Conqueror.

O. B.

THE CHANGE IN THE SEAL OF GILBERT DE CLARE, EARL OF GLOUCESTER AND HERTFORD

WHEN recently going through the *Curia Regis Rolls*, I found an interesting entry relating to the armorial seal of Earl Gilbert de Clare [A.D. 1243–95], a translation of which reads as follows :

'Memorandum that R.[1] Earl of Gloucester and Hertford informed the Justices here on Sunday next before the Feast of St. Peter in Cathedra, that in crossing a certain bridge he lately lost his seal (*sigillum*), of which the impression was six small shields, together with "alio hernesio suo," and he asked the Justices to proclaim this publicly, and that for the future no credit may be given to that device (*signum*), and that credit may be given to the device (*signum*) now sent to the same Justices in which the impression of one shield with the arms of the Earl is contained : and the Justices did this publicly, etc.'

This Memorandum appears on a De Banco Roll, Hilary Term, 51 Henry III.[2] A.D. 1267, and as the Earl did not succeed his father Richard till July, 1262,[3] and since the above extract shows that the seal was lost before February 22, 1267, we are thus enabled to assign a limit of a little less than five years to any charter to which the lost seal may be appended.

Examples of both seals have been found. The earlier one is attached to a charter now in the Public Record Office, by which the Earl granted the manor of Begeworthe, etc., to Sir John Giffard,[4] and a cast of a seal in the British Museum collection is evidently of the seal with 'the impression of one shield.' Both are defective, the older seal having slipped in the ensealing of the Begeworthe deed, although the 'six small shields' each on a leaf of a six-foil may still be made out. The Penrice MSS. also contain two impressions of the seal that was lost, attached to charters executed the 10th and 28th April, 1265.[5] Illustrations of the two seals will appear in a future number of *The Ancestor*.

E. M. POYNTON.

[1] An evident mistake of the scribe ; it should be 'G.'
[2] *Curia Regis Roll*, No. 180 (formerly No. 130), memb. 25.
[3] Vide *Dictionary National Biography*.
[4] *Ancient Deeds*, A. 922 ; see i. 108.
[5] *Cartæ et Munimenta de Glamorgan*, iii. 507–12 (Geo. T. Clark).

ANCESTORS' LETTERS

No. 2

Edmund Knightley to Thomas Cromwell [1]

RIGHTH worshipfull aft[r] all due recommendacion had ples it you to understand I perceve by my brother woo is nowe gonne owt off towne for such causez as he is bound to do that ye stond and be to me singler good and Sir I perceve nott this by hym only but by other my especiall good frendes as Sir John Russell and other for the wich I hertely thank you Sir I hertely require you to have me in yo[r] rememburanz for spedy remydie ye knowe rigth well my trouble is not only to me but partely to my frendes and kyne and so consequently I ame nott only to gyve you thankes for your benevolens to me shewed but they in like maner and summe watt I require you to regard the pore honeste that god and the kyng haith called me to and allso the plage that fleetstrett is nowe sore infect w[t] to my no litell danger over and besides myne imprisonement and that iff it wold plees you to shewe me your favour in such wise as the kynges hignes thorow your goodnes shewed may be the suner moved to have pite ye shall bynd me to you as long as I liff as knoweth all myghthy Jhesu woo kepe you to his plesur and your hertes desire written in the fleet

by your assured
EDMUND KNYGHTLEY

To the rigth worsschipful
Master Cromewell one off
the kynges most honorable
Counsell this byll bee de-
livered

Dame Jane Knightley to Thomas Cromwell [2]

Aftur all due recommendacion had Please it your honorable maistership to be advertised that I have received your benevolent and favorable lettres touching suche my busines

[1] From *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. lxxi; see also the article on the family of Knightley.

[2] *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. lxxxvii.

and suet for the liberties of my parke as my lorde Leonard Grey hath moved unto you on my behalf, for the which duety bindeth me unto you with a requytell for the same if it might lie in my litell power. And sir before the receite of your saide lettres I sent unto my saide lorde Leonarde a bill to be assigned by the kinges highnes consernyng my saide suet which plenarly will declare theffect of my purpose. And right glade I wolde have bene to have sent my sonne Serieant[1] unto your maistership now at the kinges graces being at Winchester, but that he is letted by reason of the kinges commission consern-ing his subsidie, but by godes grace he shall wayte upon you at the kinges commyng to Notley where I shall desire you to receive of him my poor patent of a graunte unto you to be maister of the game of my saide park with such fee conteigned in the same patent as I trust shalbe to your contentacion. And thus I beseche almighte Jhesu preserve you to his pleasure and your hertes desire. At Falwesley the xxvjth day of September

By yo^{r} poor beedes woman assured
DAME JANE KNYGHTLEY
widow[2]

To the right honorable maister
Crumwell chief secretary to
o^{r} Soveraign Lorde the King

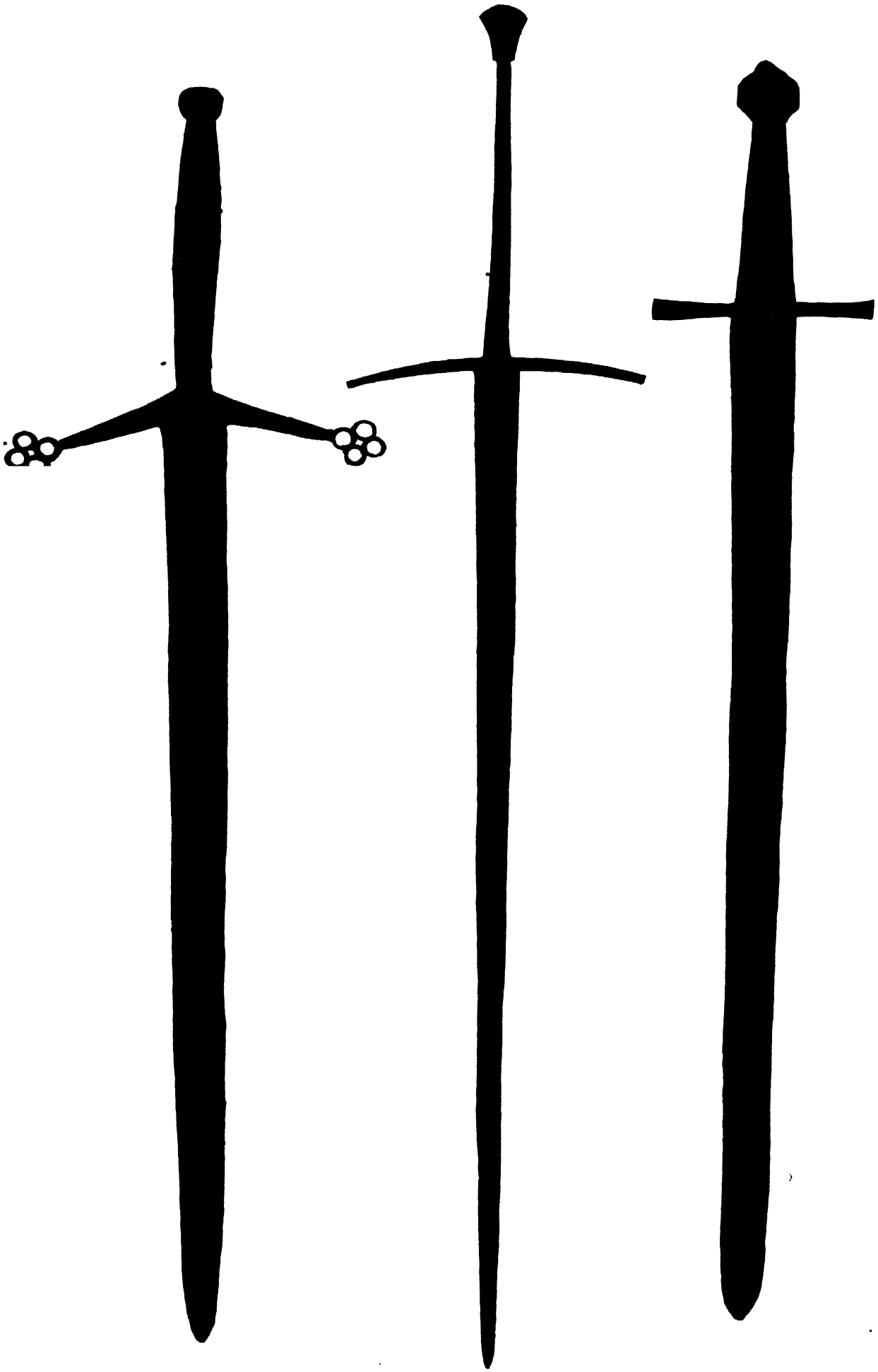
[1] Edmund Knightley the serjeant-at-law.

[2] Dame Jane's name is not written by herself, letter and signature alike being in a scrivener's hand.

SWORDS FROM THE COLLECTION OF MORGAN WILLIAMS, ESQUIRE

PLATE I

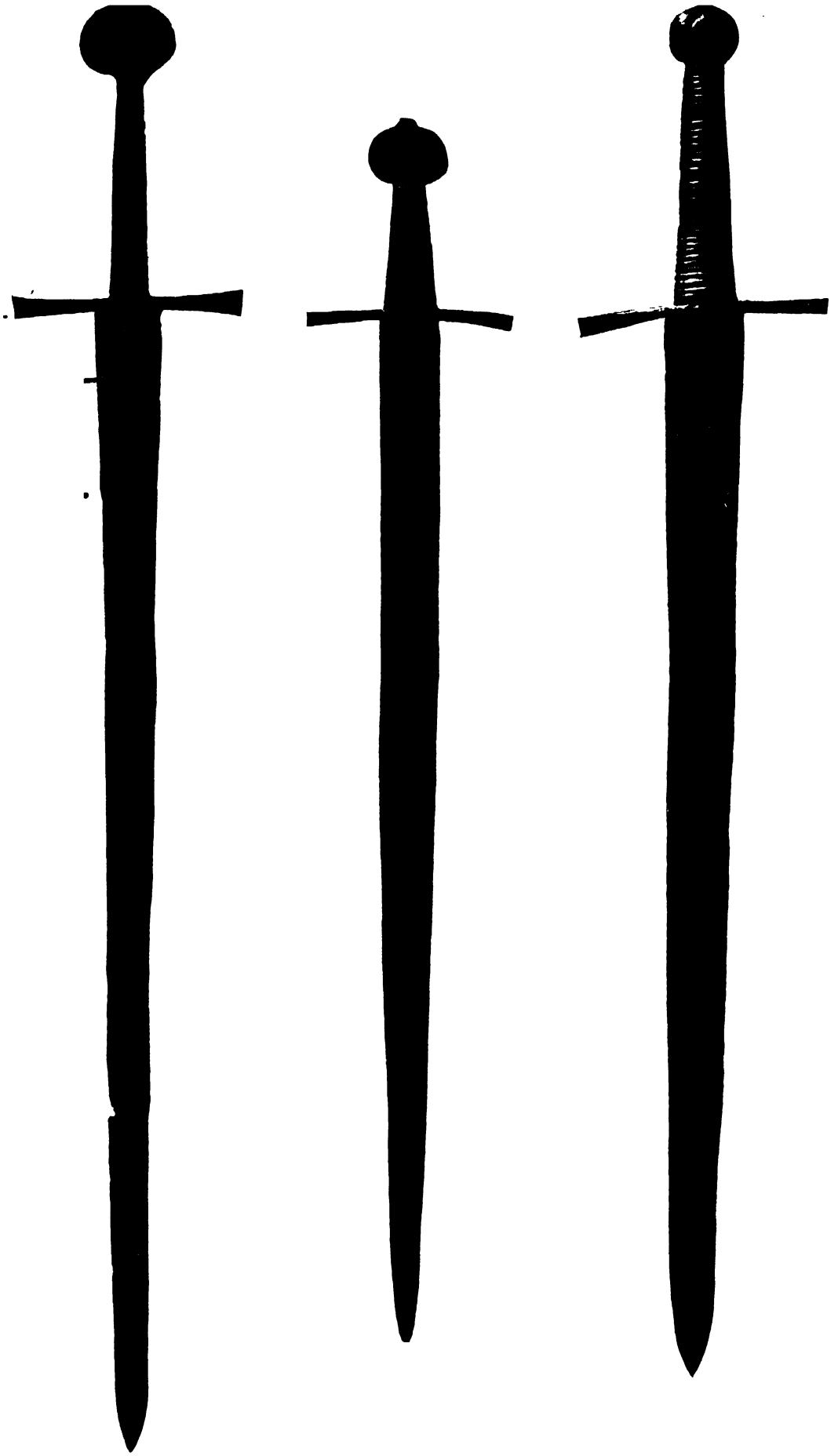
1. A *cladher mor* or great sword of the Scottish fashion, with drooping quillons, each ending in a quatrefoil ornament, and a small hollow wheel pommel. (*Temp. Hen. VI.*)
2. A two-hand sword with gracefully facetted pear-shaped pommel and slender drooping quillons. The blade grooved and tapering, stamped with a fleur-de-lis. Flemish workmanship. (*Early XVth century.*) This sword was found in the river Scheldt.
3. A heavy fighting sword with a deep wheel pommel of octagonal outline, straight and heavy quillons widening slightly at the ends, and original leather grip. The blade inlaid with an inscription in brass. Of German fashion. (*Temp. Hen. VI.*)



SWORDS FROM THE MORGAN WILLIAMS COLLECTION.

Plate II

1. A heavy fighting sword of the 'bastard' type, having a large wheel pommel with straight quillons of octagonal section. The blade is stamped on the tang with an armourer's mark. A sword of German workmanship and found in Hamburg. (*Temp. Hen. IV.*)
2. A sword with a laton hilt, deep wheel pommel and slightly drooping quillons of square section. Probably a French sword. (*Temp. Edw. III.*)
3. A heavy fighting sword of the 'bastard' type, having a deep wheel pommel inlaid with a crossed crosslet in brass, and slightly drooping quillons of square section. (*Temp. Hen. IV.*). This sword is from Mogowo in Poland.

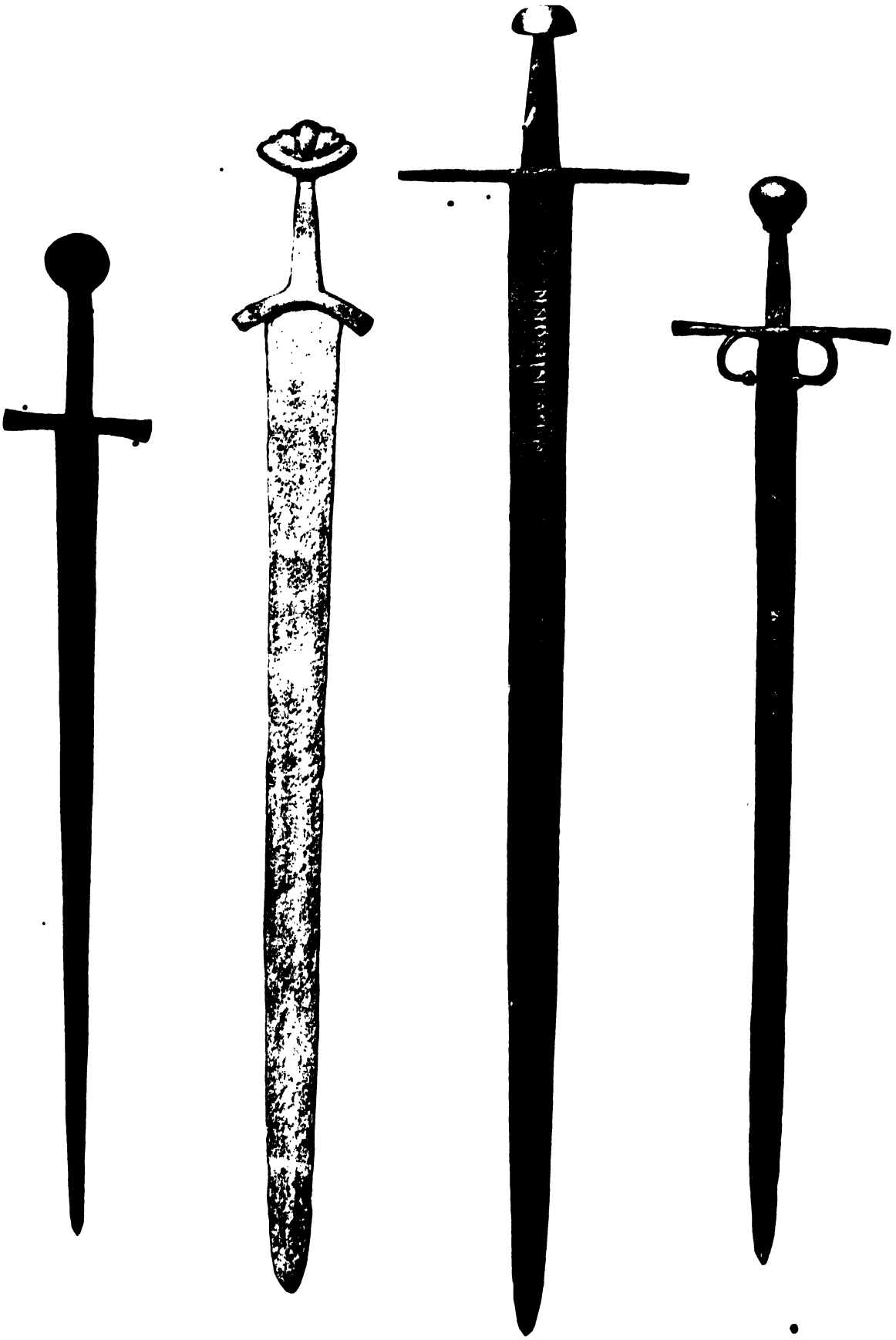


SWORDS FROM THE MORGAN WILLIAMS COLLECTION.

PLATE II.

Plate III

1. A small fighting sword with flat wheel pommel and straight quillons. On the tang of the blade is stamped an armourer's mark. Of Italian workmanship. (*Temp. Hen. V.*)
2. A sword with a moulded, crown-like pommel and drooping quillons. The surface of the hilt is enriched with a form of geometrical ornaments in gold, silver and copper, worked after the fashion of the *Azziminia*, Italian work of the sixteenth century. This superb sword was found hilt upwards in the mud banks of the Thames at Westminster some little time ago; its state of preservation is most astonishing considering its long immersion under water. Its date must be considered as anterior to the Norman Conquest. An almost similar sword was found in the river Witham and is now in the British Museum.
3. A sword with long and straight quillons and inscribed blade. (*Temp. Hen. III.*) This sword was found in France.
4. A sword with russet hilt, pear-shaped pommel and straight quillons with an early example of the *pas-d'âne*, small counter-guards issuing at right angles. Of Italian workmanship. (*Temp. Hen. VII.*)



SWORDS FROM THE MORGAN WILLIAMS COLLECTION.

PLATE III.

SOME CHESHIRE DEEDS

FOLLOWING Mr. W. H. B. Bird's article upon the origin of the Grosvenors published in the first number of *The Ancestor* this large body of Cheshire deeds from a Cheshire muniment room should be of interest and service to the genealogist. The bulk of them were executed before the practice of dating such instruments became general. They have been chosen for their bearing upon the history of Lostock and the Grosvenors. Few seals of arms remain, one however exhibiting an example of the Holford arms, Holford adding a cheveron for difference to the coat of his Toft ancestors, who bore the curious shield of three letter T's. Unfortunately no Grosvenor seal of arms occurs which would throw light upon the hotly debated bearing of *azure ove une bende dor.*

The deeds have been arranged for more convenience under the headings of Lostock Gralam, Toft and Holford, Hulme, and Allostock. The grouping is however only roughly arranged. Thus various deeds of Plumlegh, etc., which bear upon the Lostock pedigree, have been set under the heading of Lostock Gralam.

H. FARNHAM BURKE,
SOMERSET HERALD.

LOSTOCK GRALAM

I. [1233–4 ?]

Gralam [Gralambus] de Lostoc to Richard son of Randle Grosvenor [*Grossi venatoris*]. Grant of the whole land in Hulm between the hedges which Richard son of Maurice and David son of Adam held, with common of pasture, for his homage and service, to hold of the said Gralam and his heirs, paying yearly 6*s.* and one pig, provided he and his heirs erect no mill. Witnesses: Richard de Sandbach, Richard de Wibbenbury, sheriff of Cheshire, Robert Grosvenor [*Grosso venatore*], Randle the clerk of Ruston, Randle de Herton, Roger de Kegworth, Adam parson of Limme and Hugh de Bostoc. No date. Large seal with device of a hart running. SIGILL . . . LOMI · DE · LOSTOC.

II. 1269

Covenant between Alexander son of John de Lostoc and Sir John de Sonbach, rector of Rowthisthorn. Demise to the said Sir John for a term of twenty-four years of the waste of the said Alexander in the town of Lostoc

with licence to assart, etc., and of his part in the mill of Lostoc, with remainder to John son of the said Alexander. Witnesses: Sir W[illiam] de Wenables, Sir Richard de Wilburham, Randle de Oldeton, W. de Bostoc, Richard de Swetenham, William Bernart and Hugh de Cotun. Dated Whitsuntide A.D. 1269.

III.

Adam son of Richard son of John de Lostok to Robert le Grovenur. Quitclaim of two acres in Lostok, bounded by Blac wode strete, Pevere he, land late of Th[omas] le Lomb, tenant of Adam de Mertun, and land of Adam de le Wode, in cons. of 4*s*. Witnesses: A[dam] de Mertun, Stephen ni the Gale, Richard son of Henry le Bor, Gilbert de Bradeschawe, Robert son of Robert de Pevere and John de Pevere. No date.

IV.

Richard de Lostock to William son of Robert de Wyninton. Grant of the whole part of my land and waste bought of Ralph de Wasteneys and Beatrice his wife between Peuerhee and le lynstrete, except a piece of waste between le fendeshers Clowe and le Brocholes, with 2*s*. rent which John son of Thomas de Lostock, Ralph de Wasteneys and Beatrice his wife pay (*reddit*). Warrant against all men and women. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Wernoun, William de Toft, Randle de parua Ouere, John de Noua Aula, Henry de Pykemere, Robert Chaplain of Weuerham, etc. Undated. Endorsed 'Rec' de Rad'o de Holes de ten' in Wyninton.'

V.

Thomas son of Thomas de Lostok to Agnes 'my daughter.' Grant of a house with a curtilage and three half selions in Lostok, lying within certain bounds, 'beginning at the Doubledyche which Robert Gorst made between my land and the lands of Richard de Lostok,' the old ditch, the Stubbisfeldisstwyle, Grenecrofft, Hermitishull, the Marleput upon the Blakeflatte, Grenehulle on the highway, with an additional piece on the other side of the highway. Witnesses: Richard de Lostok, Richard de Andirton, Stephen Venator, Henry de Banecroffte, Richard Burdon, Adam Gorst and Roger the clerk. No date.

VI.

Richard son of Richard de Lostock to Richard son of Letice de Tabbelegh. Grant of a piece more (*aumentum*) land next the land the grantee holds of him bounded by the Barndhoc, Fulfordesiche, the water of Peuerhee, the little stream between the Clov, the Markedehoc, to hold of him, etc., with haybold in the woods of Lostock, with warrant against all men and women. Witn.: Thomas de Lostock, Robert le Grouenor, Robert del Holes, Stephen Venator, Robert de Wyninton, Randle de Horton, Robert de Nortwyc, clerk, etc. Undated. Seal broken. [For the 'burnt oak' and the 'marked oak' see Nos. lxiv., xvii.]

VII.

William son of Robert de Banecroft to Henry de Banecroft. Grant of a croft of land in Lostok, bounded by the little thorn upon the old ditch to the great thorn thereupon, the ditch to the corner thereof, and so . . . to the great pool in the Mossiche, along the Mossiche to the corner . . . of Robert-

son of Gralam de Lostok, and slantwise to the little thorn: also a piece of land by that croft called the Mersse, bounds from the great pool straight to the great well, along by the Heetside to the great well there, thence to the great Wastle and slantwise to the little thorn, which is the boundary between Robert son of Graylam and said croft, with fencing for inclosing his hedges in the wood of Lostok and pasture for 20 beasts on the pasture of Lostok. Warrant against all men and women. Consideration 3 marks. Witn.: Richard lord of Croxton, William de Meynwaring, William de Modburlegh, Robert de Wynington, William de Tofft, [John] de Noua Aula, John the clerk, etc. Undated. Seal s'.WIM' BANCR'+

VIII.

Robert son of Roger de Banecroft to Henry de Banecroft his heirs or assigns. Quitclaim of all the lands formerly of Bertram de Banecroft in Banecroft, in cons. of 4s. Witn.: Richard lord of Lostok, Robert de Wyninton, Adam de Hatton, Nichol de Vernon, Hugh his brother, Stephen Venator, John de Peuere, Robert his brother, etc. Undated. Seal.

IX. [1276–7 ?]

Richard son of Richard de Lostok to William son of Roger de Tofte. Grant in frank marriage with Joan sister of the grantor of lands of his share in the wood of Plumlegh, viz. 3 acres bounded by Houeneford, the water, and the heath, and 3 acres by Holeford, the assart of Randle de Hulle called flaxcinheye, and 3 acres of the said William beginning at Holeford between the church way and the water of Peuere, provided they erect no mill on the water of Peuerhe, to be held of the said Richard and his heirs at a rent of a pair of white gloves, remainder to grantor and his heirs. Witnesses: Sir G[uncelin] de Badelesmere, justice of Chester, Sir Patrick de Haselwelle, sheriff of Cheshire, Randle de Vernun, Richard de Massy, Randle de Horton, Robert de Wyninton, Roger de Tofte, Robert le Grovenor and Gilbert the clerk. No date. Seal with device of a fleur de lys. s' RIC . . . RIC . . . SSTOC.

X. [Before 1293]

Richard son of Richard de Lostok to Robert son of Richard le Grosuenor. Grant, for his homage and service, of lands within bounds, viz. the portforde, a hedge and ditch, and Lostokbrook, to hold of him, etc., paying yearly one [pair] of white gloves at midsummer. Said Robert not to erect a mill upon Lostok brouk within the bounds of Lostok. Warrant clause. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Vernun, Sir Hamon de Mascy, Sir Richard de Mascy, knights, William de Modburlegh, William de Meingaryn, Thomas his brother, Roger de Tofte, Hugh de Stok, Robert de Peuere, etc. Undated. Seal wrapped. (Endorsed, de terra de Hulm.)

XI.

Robert son of Robert de Pevere to Robert le Grosvenor. Grant of 'all my part' of that piece of land which stretches longways from the garden of Robert son of Nicholas de Pevere to the Portforde and broadways from the highway to Lostokebrok, with the islands between the leats called the Holmes (except one acre in tenure of Robert son of Nicholas, and the land I had in exchange from William de Modburlegh), with husbold and haybold in the wood (*nemore*) of Pevere. Witnesses: William de Meyngaryn and Thomas his

brother, William de Modburlegh, Roger de Vernun and Hugh de Stok. No date.

XII.

Richard, son of Thomas the cook of Lolstock to Ellen his daughter. Grant of all his lands, etc., in the town of Lostockgralam, in tail, remainder to grantor and his right heirs, with warrant. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Vernon, Sir William de Brerton, knights, Robert de Wenyngton, Thomas de Vernon, Geoffrey de Wenynton, Thomas the clerk, etc. Undated.

XIII.

Richard son of Richard de Lostok to Robert Grosvenor (*Grosso venatori*). Grant of all his land within these bounds, the Wetesiche as it descends into the field of said Robert upwards to the boundary of Craunache and Allostok, the border of Allostok, the hedge of Bradeschawe, the leat of Lostok; on the other side, the ditch extending from the outlying (*forinseco*) house of said Robert towards the stubbes as far as the Wytesiche when it descends from the heath into the field of said Robert: also a piece of land between the hedge of the Birches and the boundary of Schibbrok, from the corner of said hedge towards the new hall down (*decendo*, i.e. *descendendo*) a pool to the high road from the Bothe to Nordwych, and along the road by the bounds there made to the corner of said hedge towards Lostok: to hold of me, etc., with warrant. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Vernun, Sir Richard de Sondbach, William de Meingarin, Robert de Vernun, Richard lord of Croxton, William lord of Bostok, Richard de Bradewalle, etc. (A translation attached, in fine seventeenth century hand, is defective. For *forinseco* it reads 'forraine.') Undated.

XIV. [Before 1293]

Robert son of Richard le Grosuenor to Richard son of Richard de Lostok his heirs and assigns. Quitclaim of all common and estovers in the groves (*nemoribus*) of Plumlegh, both in the purparty of said Richard and in that of William de Tofte and his tenants, saving his common of pasture within the bounds of Plumlegh over the whole thereof provided it be without the hedges, in cons. of a grant by said Richard of a part of his wood (*bosci*) and land in the said town, and a piece of land in Lostock by charter. Witn.: William de Tofte, Randle de Parva Overe, Richard lord of Croxton, Richard son of Robert of the same, Hugh le Tyu, John de Noua aula, etc. Undated. Seal.

XV. [After 1286]

Richard lord [son] of Richard de Lostok to Thomas son of Thomas de Lostok for his homage and service. Grant (indented) of a piece of land in Lostok bounded by the yardrawe of brockholis, the rowe hock in the long snapeheued, the ditch and bound to the qwytestofflodelynd upon Peuereheeboug, the middle of the watercourse of Peuerehee to the Brockeholisyord, provided he and his heirs make no mill there, to hold of him, etc., with housbold and haybold in all the woods of Lostok except his park, quittance of pannage, and grinding wheat hoperfre and tolfre, paying yearly one pair of white gloves at midsummer, in cons. of two bovates of land in the town of Lostok which Leticia once wife of Gralam de Lostok held as dower granted by said Thomas. Warrant against all men and women. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Vernon, Sir Richard de Massy, Sir Hugh de Dotton, knights, William de Preheris sheriff

of Cheshire, Robert Grosvenor (*grosso venatore*) Bailiff of Nortwych, Robert de Wyninton, William de Horton, Stephen Venator, etc. Undated. Seal . . . DE ROS . . . (Slightly defective.)

XVI.

Richard son of Richard de Lostock to Richard son of John Burdon of Sladehurst. Quitclaim of lands, etc., which the said Richard Burdon bought of Thomas son of Thomas de Lostok in Lostok, by the field of the Brocholes. Witnesses: William de Toft, Adam de Tabbelegh, Richard de Andreton, William de Horton and John the clerk. No date.

XVII. [c1295]

Roger son of Thomas de Lostok to [Richard] son of Richard de Banecroft. Grant of a piece of land in Lostok [bounded by] . . . the corner of the hedge of Adam son of Geoffrey Gorst towards the heet . . . the marked oak, the marked elm grove . . . as the said Roger had the same by the grant of Richard de Lostok. Witnesses: Sir Ralph de Vernon and Sir Hugh de Venables, knights, Philip de Egerton, sheriff of Cheshire, William de Tofte, Stephen Venator, John de Newhall [*Nova Aula*], Richard de Anderton and John the clerk. No date. Seal with device of a fleur de lys . . . OG' DE LOSTO. . (Defective.)

XVIII. [1301–5]

Thomas son of Thomas de Lostok to Robert son of Robert de Lostok. Grant of a piece of land in le stubbes feld in Lostok bounded by the bridge on le sty waye, the high road, le Brere Grene above the ditch of Thomas Balle the utere brerd of said ditch, the land of Robert Gorst, and that of Agnes daughter of grantor, the middle of the double ditch, and Lostok Broke as far as said bridge, with housbote and haybote in all the woods of Lostok except the park, paying yearly to the chief lord one pair of white gloves at Michaelmas. Warrant against all men and women. Cons. 9½ marks. Witn.: Sir William Trussel then Justice of Chester, Sir Ralph de Vernon, Sir Hugh de Venables, knights, Robert de Bressy then sheriff of Cheshire, Robert de Wynington, William de Horton, Randle de Merbury, John of the same, Richard de Wynington, John the clerk, etc. Undated. (Seal broken.)

XIX. 1305

Thomas son of Thomas de Lostok to Robert son of Robert de Lostok Deed of gift of 'all my goods and chattels . . . in all the land which I gave him, etc.,' in Lostok. Witn.: Robert de Wynington, Richard of the same, John de Noua aula, John de Marbury, Henry de Banecroft, Richard his brother, William de Horton, John the clerk and others. Dat. Lostok Saturday after the Ascension 1305. (Seal broken.)

XX. [c1307]

Thomas son of Richard de Lostock to Thomas de Vernoun and Joan his wife, their heirs and assigns. Quitclaim of the Manor of Lostockgralam. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Vernoun senior, Sir Ralph his son, and William de Brereton, knights, John de Legh, Geoffrey de Werberton, Robert son of Robert le Grosuenour, William de Coton, Thomas Danyel, Randle the clerk, etc. Undated.

XXI. [c1320]

Agnes, formerly wife of Richard de Lostock Gralam, to Thomas son of Sir Ralph de Vernoun. Quitclaim indented of a piece of land called the Lavedifeld in Lostock Gralam, in exchange for all the land which William son o Maude and the said Maude his mother held to farm of the said Thomas in Lostock Gralam. Witnesses: Sir Ralph de Vernoun, John de Merbury, Robert de Wyninton, Roger de Holfort, Henry de Banecroft and Henry the clerk. No date.

XXII. [1329]

Thomas of Vernon and Johan his wife to John son of Hugh of Erdswicke. Grant of a place of land of their waste in Lostok Gralam, bounded by 'the newe ditche of Rondull of Merton, the meates of Grovenoreslostok at the quitesiche, the bounde betweene Lostocke Gralam and Craunache vnto the ditche of Hughe of Erdeswik, etc., alsoe turbarie to one mesuage vpon the said lande in their mosses of Lostok Gralam, and pasture in their wastes of Lostockegralam.' Warrant, with power to enclose, etc. Witn.: 'Oliver of Ingham, then Justice of Chester, Rauffe of Vernon, knightes, John of Wrennebur', then sheryff of Chesshire, Henrye of Craunache, Thomas of Craunache, Thomas of Sladehurste,' etc. Dat. Lostok the Tuesdaye after the nat. of St. John Baptist 3 Edward III. (A translation, attested by Richard Clutton, 1602.)

XXIII. 1333

Richard del Schagh and Joan his wife to Robert de Grovenour of Ruddeheth and Emme his wife in tail. Quit-claim indented of a messuage and a piece of moor and pasture in Lostok Gralam between the Quytesiche and the road from Werynton to Newcastle, the road from Bradeschagh to Middlewich and that from Nether Pevere to Middlewich, and also in the common of pasture and turbary which they the said Richard and Joan had by the demise of Thomas de Vernon and Joan his wife in Lostok Gralam. Witnesses: Stephen de Merton, Hugh de Erdeswyk, Randle de Merton, Henry de Coton and William de Bradeschagh. Dat. at Hulm upon Ruddeheth Sunday after St. Nicholas 1333. Broken seal.

XXIV. [1339]

Richard son of Thomas de Vernon to Randle son of Randle de Merton and his heirs. Quitclaim of a piece of land upon Ruddeheth in the town of Lostok Gralam, bounded by the high road from Bradeshagwe to Middlewich, the boundary between said Randle and Robert le Grosuenor, the boundary which Hugh de Erdeswyk made upon Ruddeheth, and following same on the south side as far as said road, for 10*s.* to be paid yearly to me and my heirs, with warrant. Witn.: Robert de Wynyngton, Richard de Vernon of Watecroft, Henry de Holford, John de Nova aula, Hugh de Erdeswyk, etc. Dat. Lostok Gralam, Friday after St. Lucy V. 13 Edw. III.

XXV. [1342]

Ellen and Alice daughters of Richard Burdon to Richard son of Richard Burdon. Indenture witnessing that all lands, etc., held by Maude late wife of Richard Burdon for her life in Lostok Gralam by [grant] of John Spendeloue, chaplain, with remainder to said Ellen and Alice, shall remain wholly to said Richard the son, his heirs and assigns, with warrant. And in exchange said

Richard the son grants to said Alice all lands late of her said father in Rouschagh in Lostok Gralam, with warrant. Witn.: Richard de Vernon of Lostok, William de Wyninton, Richard de Anderton, Richard del Redemore, etc. Dat. Lostok, Tuesday the Circumcision, 15 Edw. III. (Slightly defective.) One seal (of two).

xxvi. [1343]

Robert son of Robert de Lostok to Randle son of David le Wolf. Grant of all his lands and tenements in the territory of Lostok, with the reversion of a dower which Agnes, wife of John le Voudrey, mother of the grantor, holds, save only one piece of land called Schawerudyng. Witnesses: Richard le Vernon of Lostok, Peter de Legh, Richard de Anderton, Richard de Lache and John the clerk. Dated at Lostok Tuesday the feast of St. Hilary 16 Edw. III.

xxvii. [1345]

William son of Hugh Nichtingale to John his brother, chaplain. Grant of all the land, etc., grantor had of the demise of Hugh his father in Lostok, as contained in the original deed, paying yearly to the heirs of Robert le Grouenour the chief lord 6*d*., with warrant. Witn.: William de Maynwaring, Roger de Toft, Randle de Mertone, Walter de Bradeschawe, John the clerk, etc. Dat. Lostok, feast of St. Botulph Abbot 1345. Seal of a nightingale (?).

xxviii. [1346]

William son of Hugh Nithgale to Emma late wife of Robert le Grouenour of Ruddeheth, her heirs and assigns. Quitclaim of all lands, etc., which she had of the gift of John Nithgale, chaplain, in Lostok; and grant of the reversion of all lands, etc., which Alice late wife of Hugh Nithgale of Lostok holds of her husband's gift of his inheritance in Lostok, with remainder to grantor: Warrant clause. Witn.: Roger de Leycestre, Hugh de Pikemere, Roger de Toft, Henry de Holford, William del Helde, etc. Dat. Lostok, friday before the Conversion of St. Paul 1345.

xxix. [1346]

Emme, who was wife of Robert le Grovenour ot Ruddeheth, to William the son of Hugh Nithgale of Lostok. Grant indented of the lands she had of the gift of John Nithgale, the chaplain in Lostok, and also all the lands, etc., which Alice, who was wife of Hugh Nithgale, holds in dower of the gift of the said Hugh of the grantor's inheritance in Lostok by the grant of the said William, and which, after the death of the said Alice, ought to revert to grantor and her heirs, to be held of her for the life of the said William by the service of six silver pennies yearly. The said Emme also grants to the said William the reversion of the four acres of land which the said Alice and Hugh the son of the said Hugh Nithgale hold of her for a term of four years from Martinmas 1345, to be held for the life of the said William at a rent of six shillings yearly, etc. Witnesses: Roger de Leycestre, Hugh de Pikemere, Roger de Toft, Henry de Holford and William del Helde. Dated at Lostok Ash Wednesday 1345. Broken seal attached, which shows two shields side by side.

xxx. [1351]

Richard son of Gralam de Morton to Nicholas son of William de Wyninton of the Birches and his heirs. Quitclaim of lands, etc., which Nicholas son of Robert de Wyninton had of his feoffment in the Birches by Shibbrok, in rent as in demesne. Witn.: Hugh de Venables of Kynderton, Richard de Wyninton, knights, Richard de Leftewych, Richard del Shawe, William del Helde, etc. Dat. the Birches by Shibbrok, Wednesday after Trinity 1351.

xxxi. [1350–3]

William son of Roger Gorst to Roger le Pauer, chaplain. Grant of all his lands, etc., in Rouschwe (*elsewhere* Roshaw), in the town of Lostock. Witnesses: Thomas Dauners, sheriff of Cheshire, Richard de Leftewich, Richard le Vernun, Robert de Winnyngton, Warin de Both and Richard de Bothe. Broken seal. Undated.

xxxii. [1373]

John de Holfort to Robert le Grosvenor. Quitclaim of all the messuages, lands and rents in possession of said Robert, which were formerly of Gralam de Lostok, or of Richard his son, or of Richard the son of the said Richard in Allostok, Hulm and Lostokgralam. Witnesses: Ralph de Vernon, John de Mascy and William de Carynton, knights, Hugh de Venables and John Dounvill. Dated at Lostokgralam Friday before the feast of St. Michael in Monte Cumba 47 Edw. III. (1373). Seal of arms—*a cheveron between three letter T's.* Sigillum Johannis de Holford.

xxxiii. [1382]

Robert Bordon of Sladeshurst to Ellen daughter of Richard de Sladeshurst and Margery her sister, in tail. Grant of all his lands, etc., in the town of Lostokgraulam, rendering to the chief lord one pair of white gloves (*serotecharum*) at midsummer, with warrant, remainder to grantor and his heirs. Witn.: Randle le Vernon, Richard de Lyttelor, William de Tabbelegh, Thomas de Berinton, Randle le Vernon, etc. Dat. Lostokgraulam, Sunday after St. Wilfrid B. 6 Richard [II]. Seal.

xxxiv. [1387]

John son of William de Holford to Thomas son of Robert Kynsy, John de Alkumlowe, John son of John Alkoc of Toft, John de Bostok, William le Baker and Robert de Peuver the younger, abiding in the town of Toft, and John son of Randle son of Hugh del Toun. Grant of all his lands, etc., formerly of Nicholas son of William de Wenyngton in Lostok Gralam. Witnesses: Sir Robert le Groswenor, Sir Richard de Wenynton, John de Laycestre, Robert de Toft and Richard de Dutton. Dat. at Lostok Gralam the Epiphany 10 Ric. II. (1387). Seal in white wax, very imperfect; a shield of arms, possibly with a bend or cheveron.

xxxv. [1402]

Robert de Wynyngton to Nicholas de Wynyngton his brother. Grant of all his lands, etc., in the towns of Birchis upon Ruddeheeth and Lostok Gralam with a salt pan in Northwich called 'Tatton Wiche Hous' and half a ledpanne and rake. To be held by the aid Nicholas for his life at a rent of a red rose. Dated at Birchis 2 Aug. 3 Hen. IV. (1402). Broken seal. (Endorsed erroneously 1401.)

XXXVI. [1422]

William de Schirburn and Ellen Burdon his wife to John Godemon and Joan his wife, their heirs and assigns. Grant of their share of a piece of land called Roshagh' lying between Moysingeslowe and Lostokbroke, with buildings thereupon, with warrant. Witn.: John Wrenche, John Thomlynson of lostok, Thomas de Faryngton, Clerk, etc. Dat. Roshagh, sunday after the Assumption, 10 Hen. V. (1422). Two seals.

TOFT AND HOLFORD

XXXVII. [After 1292]

Roger lord of Tofte to Roger his eldest son and heir and Margery daughter of Thomas de Weuere, his wife. Grant indented of all his land, etc., in Kinderton, viz. in a place called Russeford, with housbold, haybold and quittance of pannage in the wood of Bradeswall, and a piece of his waste land in Tofte bounded by the lamputtes near Toft, Hullesey (saving a right of way), the hedge of his hay to the boundary of Plumley, the said boundary to the boundary of Nether Tabbeley, the boundary between Tofte and Bexton to Bextundale, the old ditch to said lamputtes, and the new piece of an assart between Bradeleybrock and the assart of Hamon de Tofte, the land, etc., which Henry grantor's brother gave him in Tofte, with buildings, etc., thereon, as in the charter of Roger his father to said Henry, to hold in tail, paying yearly to grantor for life, for his warrant, 1*d.*, and if there be no issue, to said Margery for life as her dower of the rest of grantor's lands, remainder to grantor. Warrant against all men and women. Witn.: Sir Hugh de Venablis, Sir Hamon de Mascy, Sir Ralph de Vernon, Sir Richard de Mascy, knights, John de Lee, William de Meynwar', William de Modburlegh, William de Tofte, etc. Undated. Seal. S'ROG · DE · TOFT.

XXXVIII. [c1307 ?]

Roger son of William de Tofte and Margery his wife, daughter of Richard le Despenser, to John son of Richard le Despenser, chaplain. Grant of their mansion of Holford, with the demesne, lands, mills, etc., in Plumplegh and Holford, and their hay called Holfordehurst. Witnesses: Sir Hamon de Mascy, Sir Peter de Dutton, knights, John de Legh, Payne le Wasteneys, Matthew de Holgrewe, Roger de Tofte and Richard the Chaplain. Broken seal. R . . . TOFT. Undated.

XXXIX. [c1307]

John the Chaplain son of Richard le Despenser to Margery his sister, wife of Roger son of William de Toftes. Grant of his mansion of Holeford, with demesne lands, mills, etc., within the bounds of Plumplegh and Holeford, the Hay called Holefordhurst, etc., for life, with housboild and hayboild in the woods of Plumplegh, common of pasture, etc., remainder to Roger her husband and the heirs of their bodies, remainder to said Roger and his heirs. Warrant against all men and women. Witn.: Sir Hamon de Mascy, Sir Peter de Werberton, knights, Payne de Wasteneis, John de Legh, Roger de Leycestre, John de Bexton, Randle de Lettleouer, Mathew de Holegreue, etc. Undated. Fragment of seal, a lion. S' HENRI . . .

[See fine between the same parties of a messuage, two carucates of land, three acres of meadow, four acres of wood, a mill and three parts of a mill in Plumlegh, Holford and Lostock.—*Plea Roll*, 1 & 2 Edw. III. m. 21.]

XL. 1316

Roger lord of Toft to Thomas his son, clerk. Grant in tail of a piece of land called Esaub, as inclosed, and a piece by it as the bounds shew, and a third on the other side of the sponway by the said land, as the bounds shew, in Toft, with the wood thereupon, to hold of him, etc., with housbold and heybold in the groves (*nemoribus*) of Toft, quittance of pannage, and all commons, etc., and licence to have two undertenants, paying yearly one peppercorn, remainder to Hamon his brother, with warrant. Witn.: John de Legh, William de Modburlegh, William son of Roger de maynewaryng, Roger son of William de Toft, Nicholas son of John de Peuer, Robert the clerk, etc. Dat. Toft, Friday after St. Andrew Ap. 1316. (Copy—ill written.)

XLI. [1450]

Thomas de Swetenham and Robert . . . of Cholmondeley to [William Bulkeley of?] Holford. Grant of all messuages, lands, etc., which they had of the feoffment of said William in Holford and Tofte [to hold] for life without impeachment of waste, remainder to Matilda daughter of William Bulkeley for life, remainder to Thomas son of Thomas son of said William in tail, remainder to the right heirs of said Thomas son of William, with warrant. Witn.: William Bulkeley of Ayton, Thomas . . . etc. Dat. Friday before St. Simon and St. Jude Ap. 29 . . . VI. (Very defective.)

HULME

[See also under Lostock Gralam Nos. i., x., xxxii.]

XLII. [Before 1260]

Richard de Chernoc to Richard le Grouenur, his heirs or assigns. Quitclaim of two bovates of land in the town of Hulm whereof he impleaded said Grouenur by writ of entry in the court of Chester, in cons. of 2 marks. Witn.: Sir R. de Monte alto then Justice of Chester, Sir William de Venables, Roger de Tofft, William de Bostock, Warin de Croxton, Hamon le Bret, Randle de Horton, Randle the clerk of Ruston, Robert de Wyninton, Geoffrey de Lostoke, Thomas his brother, Randle the clerk of Merton, Roger the clerk, etc. Undated. Seal S'RICARDI D CIR . . .

XLIII. [c1307]

Ralph son of Ralph de Vernoun, knight (*militis*), to Robert son of Robert le Grosuenour and his heirs. Quitclaim of all lands, etc., which said Robert held in Hulm upon Ruddeheth at the time of this writing. Witn.: Sir Hugh de Venables, Sir William de Brerton, knights, Richard de Foulishurst then sheriff, John de Legh, William Gerard, Randle de Merton, William de Coton, etc. Undated. Seal broken. A shield of arms with fesse . . . ADVLFI DE VERNOVN.

XLIV. 1334

Cristiana de Bircheles to Robert Le Grosuenour of Ruddehet. Grant of all cattle (*animalia*), wheat and hay and all dung, also cloths and utensils, also a term of years of lands in Hemdebur'. (No witnesses.) Dat. Bircheles, Friday after St. Calixtus P. 1334. (Seal gone.)

XLV. 1424

Roger le Venables, parson of Routhestorn, and John Chardero, Chaplain, to William del Grene and Thomas de Stanyhurst. Letter of attorney [to deliver seisin] to Thomas le Gros[venor] in all the messuages and lands [specified in] their charter indented, etc. Dat. Bancroft . . . 1424. Seal. (Damaged and defective.)

XLVI. [1468]

Bills indented of William Stanley, knight, Sheriff of Cheshire, witnessing that by virtue of a writ of admeasurement of dower sued by John Legh of the Bothes, esquire, and Emme his wife and others, the lands which Joan late wife of Robert Grosvenor, esquire, hath in dower were found to be five marks worth by the year more than she ought to have by right. Five marks worth in Hulme and Allostok are therefore delivered to the said John Legh and Emme his wife, one of the daughters and heirs of the said Robert Grosvenor, and to the other named in the said writ. Dated 12 June 8 Edw. IV. (1468). Seals with device of a hart's head.

XLVII. [1496]

John Leycestre son of Thomas Leycestre, esquire, to his kinsfolk Peter Shakerley and Elizabeth his wife in tail. Indenture granting them liberty to divert Lostok broke and lead the water thereof from a wood called the Sprynge in Lostok beyond his meadow and land in Netherpeuer to their Mill called Hulme Milne, as Joan Grosuenor used to do, and the attachment (*attachiamentum*) of the mill and pool, also a piece of land 7 feet in width and half a foot in length from the said wood to Hulme parke for that purpose, and liberty to dig earth and turves on my meadow and lands for repairs, and carry stones, timber, etc., with warrant. Witn. : Ralph Eggoton, John Leycestre of Toft, Peter Page, etc. Dat. Allostok, Monday after St. Gregory P. 11 Henry VII.

XLVIII. [1497]

William son and heir of Ralph Eggerton late of Hulme, esquire, William Croxton and John Leycestre of Toft to Peter Shakerley. Bond in 500 marks, with condition that Peter Shakerley and Elizabeth his wife and the heirs of their bodies shall enjoy the manor of Hulme, etc., late of Emme daughter of Robert Grosvenor, without disturbance of said William. Dat. 14 Sept. 13 Hen. VII. [1497]. Three seals.

XLIX. [1547]

Geoffrey Shakerley, esquire. Inq. p.m. at Wich Malbank, Saturday before the Assumption 1 Edward VI. (1547), stating that he died 5 June last past, and that Peter Shakerley was son and heir, aged 28 and upwards at the date of the inquisition. (See Ches. Inq. 1 Edw. VI. No. 5.)

L. [1552]

Peter Shakerley of Hulme, esquire, to Brian Travers, gent., and Andrew Rider, chaplain. Indenture of feoffment of the manor or capital messuage in the town of Allostocke, called 'the hall of Hulme,' with lands, etc. [specified at length]. Hugh Bonell and Richard Mershe are attorned to deliver seisin. Witnesses: Roger Anderton, gent., Simon Hurst, William Kenworthey, Robert Tumlynson and Randulphe Wilkynson. Dated 21 Dec. 6 Edw. VI. (1552).

A declaration of the uses of the feoffment is attached. The said manor and lands in Hulme, Laich Denis and Byley, are settled to the use of the said Peter Shakerley for life, with remr. as to one portion to Geffray Shakerley son and heir of Peter and his right heirs, as to another to Elizabeth wife of Peter for life in augmentation of jointure, remainder to said Geffray and his right heirs, and as to the rest to Elinor Margaret and Dorothy (minors), daughters of Peter, for 20 years, his brother-in-law Roger Anderton and cousin John Venables, gent., being trustees for them, remainder to Geffray as before.

ALLOSTOCK

[See also under Lostock Gralam No. xxxii. and under Hulme Nos. xlvi., xlix.]

LI. [Before 1211]

Robert le Brun to Robert son of Picgot. Grant of Alelostoc with all its appurtenances to be held of the said Robert le Brun and his heirs at a rent of five shillings. Witnesses: Ralph de Meidnibar' [? Mesniwarin], Lydulf the sheriff, Patrick de Moberlegh, Henry de Stapelford, Peter the earl's clerk, Richard de Maltebi, William son of Hugh and Richard de Rodest'. Seal of a knight on horseback, the inscription lost. [Ralph de Mesnilwarin was justice of Chester before Philip de Orreby who occurs in 1211.]

LII. c1264

Alan, lord of Lostok, and Michael de Gostre. Covenant whereby the said Alan conveys to the said Michael the moiety of his lands in Lostok for a term of twenty-four years beginning at Whitsuntide A.D. 1264, in case the marriage to be had between John son of the said Alan and Margery daughter of the said Michael, or between other children of the said Alan and Michael shall not stand. Witnesses: William de Menewarynk, Roger de Tofte, Warin de Croxton, Richard de Croxton, Richard de Swetenham, Hugh de Coton, Henry de Coton, Bertram de Hulm, Richard de Crawnach and Adam the clerk. No date. Seal S'ALANI . . LOSTOC.

LIII. [c1270–1]

John son of Alan de Allostok to Robert son of Richard le Grosuenur. Grant of all his land in the town of Allostok with all his right in the said town. Warrant against all men and women. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Vernun, Sir Hamon de Mascy, Sir Richard de Mascy, Sir Hugh de Pulford, knights, William de Modburlegh, William de Meyngaryn, Roger de Tofte, Thomas de Meyngaryn, Hugh de Stoke, etc. Undated. Seal s' . . . DE LOS . . .

LIV. [1270–1]

John de Sondbache, rector of Routhisthorn, Richard de Croxton, parson, Roger de Sondbache and Richard de Suetinham, on behalf of John son of Alan de Allostok, to Robert le Grosvenor. Recognisance in 40*l.* of silver for the ratification by said John son of Alan de Allostok, when he shall come of age, of the grant which he made to the said Robert le Grosvenor of land in Allostok, for that Thomas Persed and Emme his wife and Avice sister of the said Emme quitclaimed to the said John. Witnesses: Sir Reynold de Grey, justice of Chester, Sir Richard de Wilburham, sheriff of Cheshire, John de Wetinhale, Robert de Moldeuurdthe, William de Bonebur', William de Bulkylegh, William de Bostok, Hugh de Coton and Thomas de Lostok.

Two seals (of 4) remaining—one with a device of a lion fighting a dragon. S' HVGONIS DE HATTVN. Undated.

LV. [1270–1]

Adam de Merton, Richard son of William Smith (*fabri*) and Margery his wife, John Marshal and Emme his wife, Randle de Ruston, Stephen Nittegale and Robert his brother, and Richard son of Henry le Bor, parceners and charterers of Allelostok, to Robert son of Richard le Grovenor, his heirs and assigns. Quitclaim of all common right in the lands which John son of Alan, lord of Lostok, gave to the said Robert in the manor of Allostok. Witnesses: Sir Reynold de Grey, justice of Chester, Sir Thomas de Meingwarin, Sir Richard de Wilburham, sheriff of Cheshire, Robert de Huxley, John de Sandbach, rector of Roudestoron, Warin de Croxton and Richard his brother, Richard de Suetenham, Hugh de Coton and Roger de Nortwych, clerk. No date. One seal (of 9) remaining.

LVI.

Randle son of William Smith (*Fabri*) of Frodisham to John Marshal of Frodisham. Quitclaim of all the land of Lostoc which was the land of William his father to hold of him, etc., in cons. 21*s*. Witn.: Robert Chamberlain then bailiff of Frodisham, Th[omas] son of Nicol, Richard the provost of Hingesleg', Nicolas Opñdor', Walter Smith (*Fabro*), William de Netherton, Henry his brother, Walter son of Nicol, Th[omas] son of Payne Clerk, etc. Undated.

LVII.

Adam de Merton to Robert son of Richard Le Grosuenor. Grant of all his land of Alneschawe which Stephen Nittegale and William Rawald held of him in Alle Lostok, with all his waste in that town, viz. one fourth besides that piece of waste between grantor's house and the house which [Richard] son of Matilda held of said Robert as far as to Spurneschawe Lache: also his land adjoining, between that of Hugh Nittegale and that which Henry servant of Robert holds of said Robert, all his land in the Field held by Hugh Nittegale between the high way to the Brydenebruge and the bounds of Over Pevere, and a small Croft called Lombescroft, saving to grantor common of pasture and turbary. Mention of iron mine. For this grant said Robert has given all his land in Spurneschawe which Amisia de Alle Lostok held in dower, with that which Alexander of beyond Merse held of said Robert, and a piece of meadow (described). Warrant by Adam against all men and women. Witn.: Sir Richard de Mascy, Sir Richard de Sondbache, William de Modberlegh, William de Meingarin, Hugh de Stoke, Richard de Craunache, Henry of the same, etc. Undated.

LVIII.

Adam de Merton to Robert le Grosvenor. Quitclaim of 'my part of the mill of Allostok,' namely the fourth part of the moiety of the said mill. Witnesses: William de Meingarin, William de Modburlegh, Hugh de Stok, Richard de Craunach, Henry of the same, and John de Coton. No date.

LIX.

John son of Alan de Allostok to Robert le Grosuenur. Confirmation and quitclaim of the whole town of Allostok, according to a charter said Robert

previously had of him. Witn.: Sir William de Venables, Sir Ralph de Vernun, Sir Richard de Mascy, Sir Richard de Sondbache, knights, William de Modburlegh, Roger de Vernun, William de Meyngaryn, Hugh de Stok, etc. Undated. Seal broken . . . NI DE LOS . . .

LX. and LXI.

Thomas son of Michael de Goiestre to Robert Le Grosuenor. Grant of all his land in the town of Allostok bought of Richard son of the smith (*fabri*) and Margery his wife, to hold of him, etc., paying yearly 2*s.* at midsummer and Martinmas, with warrant against all men and women. Witn.: Sir William de Venables, Sir Richard de Sondbache, William de Meingarin, Robert de Wyninton, Richard de Lostock, Richard lord of Croxton, Richard de Crawenache, Roger de Tofte, Henry de Craunache, etc. Undated. [Indenture and counterpart.]

LXII.

Robert le Grosvenor to Adam de Merton. Grant of the land in Allelostock, bounded by the leat of Allelostock, the ford by the land Alkoc de Ultramerse held, the hedge and ditch to the syke (*sichetum*) coming down from Lostokehurst, said syke to the road towards Richard le Bor's house, the hedge and ditch to said Richard's house in Lostokehurst, downward to said leat, the leat to said ford; with one acre in addition of waste outside Spurneschaue, and the whole land of Spurneschaue which William Smith (*faber*) held, in exchange for the land Adam held in Allelostock, to hold of the said Robert and his heirs at a rent of seven shillings. Witnesses: William de Mayngwarin, William de Modbirlegh, Richard de Lostock, Adam de Tabbelegh, Stephen the Hunter (*venatore*), John of Newhall [*de Nova Aula*] and Randle of Little Over. No date. Seal with an inlay of a gem? an eagle? S'ROBERTI P'SONE DE HAMT'.

LXIII.

Adam de Merton to Robert le Grosuenor. Grant of the homage, rent and service of Richard le Boar. Witn.: William de Meingarin, Roger de Tofte, Adam de Tabbelegh, Richard de Craunach, John de Noua Aula, etc. Undated. Seal. (Endorsed, Lostok.)

LXIV. [Before 1279]

John de Lostok to William Nytegale. Grant in cons. of 22*s.* of a certain land, bounded by the hedge next the smithy (*fabricam*) of Stephen Grenehoyt upwards to the oak in the hedge, alfenesaheforde, the burnt oak, and the boundary to the said hedge, to hold of him, etc., by said William his heirs and assigns, saving men of religion and the chief lord, with all commons, husbote, haybote, and quittance of pannage in the woods of Lostok, etc., paying yearly 2*s.* at midsummer and Martinmas. Warrant against all men and women. Witn.: William de Vernon, Ralph Curnouylen, Robert de Peuere, Adam de Acliston, Henry de Crawnach, Warin de Croxton, William de Bostoc, William Bonetable, Robert de Bernunsah', etc. Undated. (Endorsed, Lostock.)

LXV. [Before 1297]

Robert le Grouenur to William son of Hugh Nitegale. Confirmation of all the land which Hugh Nitegale father of William formerly held of him (metes and bounds) in exchange for all the land which Hugh Nitegale held of the gift

of Stephen Nitegale and Robert his brother, to hold of him, etc., paying yearly 2*s.*, and doing service to the lord of Weverham, with warrant to William his heirs and assigns (except men of religion) against all men and women. Witn.: William lord of Modbirlegh, William de Meinwarin, Hugh de Stoke, William de Tabbelegh, Adam le Dunne de Tabbelegh, Roger de Tofte, Th[omas] de Meinwarin, Nicholas Haregreue Chaplain, etc. Undated. Oval seal with device of two fighting lions : S' ROB' L . . . OVENVR.

LXVI.

Richard son of Randle de Ruston, clerk (*clericus*), to Gilbert his brother. Grant of all his land, etc., and all his right in the land of Bradesah, formerly of Randle his father, to hold of him, etc., with all easements, etc., pertaining to the said land and to the town of Lostok, paying yearly one pair of white gloves at Michaelmas, with warrant against all men and women. Witn. : William de Menewar', Roger de Tofte, Ralph de Brerton, Richard Bonetable, Robert Grosvenor (*Grosso venatore*), Nicholas de Vernon, Adam de Merton, Hugh de Stoke, Th[omas] de Gostre, etc. Undated. Seal. S' RIC' · F'R'D'RVSTO'.

LXVII.

Stephen Nyttegale to Richard his son. Grant of all his land and his tenement in the town of Lostok, as in the original charter thereof, paying yearly to Robert le Grouenor and his heirs, the chief lord, 6*d.* at midsummer and Martinmas, with warrant against all men and women. Witn. : William de Meinwaring, William de Tofte, Gilbert de Bradesawe, John de Peuere, John de Noua aula, William the Clerk, etc. Undated.

LXVIII.

Adam son of Adam de Merton and Adam de Merton his father. Deed of covenant whereby the son grants to his father his land, etc., in Allostoc which his father gave him (saving a certain field called Hethalefeld) for life, performing due services, and to the son and his heirs a pair of white gloves at the feast of St. Oswald, with warrant against all men and women. Witn. : William de Menewar[ine], Th[omas] de Lostoc, *Rob' grosso uenatore*, Robert de Peuere, Martin de Peuere, Hugh de Stoke, Roger de Brunlisah' [? Gunlisah'], Th[omas] de Gost', Adam the clerk, etc. Undated. Seal.

LXIX.

Adam son of Adam de Merton to Robert le Grosvenor. Quitclaim of all lands, etc., which the said Robert has of the gift of the said Adam the father in Alle Lostock. Witnesses : William de Meingerin, Richard de Lostock, Richard lord of Croxton, William de Tofte, Randle de Parva Ouere [*elsewhere* de Little Oure] and John de Newhall [*Nova Aula*]. Seal attached.

LXX. [1292 ?]

Gilbert son of Randle de Ruston to Gilbert his son, his heirs and assigns. Grant of the moiety of all the land of the said Gilbert son of Randle in Halelostoc, according to the purport of the deeds which he and Randle his father had of the lords of Hallelostoc, paying yearly one rose, remainder to Robert brother of Gilbert the son, or to his sister. Witnesses : William de Venables, William de Perers, then sheriff of Cheshire, Roger de Toft, William de Toft, John de Newhall [*Nova Aula*], William de Mere, Robert de Grovenor, then lord of Lostoc, and John the clerk. Seal. Undated.

LXXI.

John son of William Nightegle of Allostock to Robert le Grosvenour and Margery his wife. Grant of all his lands and tenements, etc., in the town of Allostock. Witnesses: Sir Ralph le Vernon, Sir Hamón le Mascy and Sir William le Brereton, knights, John de Legh and William de Moburlehe. No date.

LXXII.

Adam son of Adam de Merton to Robert le Grosvenor and Margery his wife. Quitclaim of the whole fourth part of the town of Allostok, which Adam the father bought of John Marshall [*Marescallo*]. Witnesses: Sir Ralph de Vernun, Sir Richard de Mascy, knights, William de Meingaryn, John de Newhall [*Nova Aula*], Hugh le Tyu, Stephen the Hunter [*venatore*] and Richard de Anderton. Seal. s' · ade de · m't'. Undated.

LXXIII.

Thomas son of Michael de Gorestre to Robert le Grosvenor. Quitclaim of all right in the town of Allostock. Witnesses: Sir Hugh de Venables, Sir William de Brerton, Sir Richard de Sondbache, knights, Robert de Brescy, sheriff of Cheshire, William de Meynwaring, Richard de Croxton and Gilbert Dodefin. No date. Seal with device of a star (?) + s' th'e de gostre.

LXXIV. [After 1307]

Richard le Boar de Allostok to Robert son of Robert le Grosuenour. Grant of all his lands, etc., in Allostok, with warrant. Witn.: Sir Ralph de Vernoun senior, Sir William de Brerton, knights, Richard de Foulishurst then sheriff, John de Legh, William de Modburlegh, William de Coton, Andrew de Allostok, clerk, etc. Undated.

LXXV. 1324

Andrew son of Henry le Seriant to Robert son of Robert le Grosuenour and his heirs. Grant of a rent of 12*d.* to be received of him and his heirs in Allostok at midsummer and Martinmas, secured on all his lands in Allostok and Nethurpeuere. Witn.: William de Modburlegh, William de Masçy, William de Coton, Roger de Tofte, Roger de Holford, Henry de Coton, William de Bradeshawe, etc. Dat. Allostok Thursday after the Circumcision 1324. Seal broken.

LXXVI. 1328

John son of William Nictegale to Robert le Grouenor and his heirs. Quitclaim of all the lands, etc., which said Robert had of his gift in Allostok, 'as well in dower as in the two thirds.' Witn.: William de coton, Roger de Toffet, Roger de Holford, Tohm[as] de Vernoun, Avery the clerk, etc. Dat. Allostok, Wednesday the Exaltation of Holy Cross 1328. Seal. Endorsed, Allelostok.

LXXVII. 1328

Robert le Grovenor of Rodheth to John le Warde. Grant indented of a messuage and eight acres of land in Allostok which the said Robert had of the gift of the said John, to hold of grantor for life, with license of cutting turves in the turbaries of the said Robert in Allostok, paying yearly one rose. Witnesses: William de Coton, Roger de Toffete, Roger de Holford, Thomas de Vernoun, and Andrew the clerk. Dated at Allostok Michaelmas 1328.

LXXVIII. [1334]

William de Grotewych and John Spendelouȝ, chaplains, to William son of Adam de Bradeshawe. Grant of all lands, etc., in Allostok which they had of the feoffment of said William, to hold for life of them, etc., remainder to Walter son of said William and Maude his wife (*uxori*) in tail, remainder to the right heirs of said Walter, to hold of the chief lords, etc., with warrant. Witn.: Robert le Grosuenour, Stephen de Merton, Randle his brother, Roger de Tofte, Thomas his brother, Richard le Vernon of Watecroft, Hugh de Drakelowe, Andrew de Lostok, Roger the clerk, etc. Dat. Lostok, Monday after the Assumption, 8 Edw. III.

LXXIX. [c1345]

John Neyttegale chaplain to Emma le Grosuenour. Grant of all lands, etc., which he had of the gift of William his brother in the town of Allostok, with warrant. Witn.: Henry de Holford, Th[omas] son of John de Dauene-port, knights, Randle de Merton, Hugh de Drakelouwe, Henry de Hanlegh, chaplain, etc. Undated. Seal.

LXXX. [1346]

William son of Hugh Neyttegale to Emma le Grosuenour, her heirs and assigns. Quitclaim of all lands and tenements which John Neyttegale, chaplain, held 'of my gift' in the town of Allostok, with warrant against all men. Witn.: Henry de Holford, Th[omas] de Dauynport, Randle de Merton, Hugh de Drakelowe, Henry de Hanlegh, chaplain, etc. Dat. Hulm Sunday after St. Hyllary 1345. Seal.

LXXXI. [1396]

Peter Elice, chaplain, to Henry son of Thomas the Seriaunt, his heirs and assigns. Grant of all his lands, etc., in all [*toto*] Lostok and Netherpeuer which he had of the feoffment of said Thomas, with warrant. Witn.: Thomas de Bradshagh, William de Bradshagh, Thomas de Bradshagh, William de Alcmudelowe, John de Alcmudelowe. Dat. Lostok sunday after the Purification, 19 Ric. II. Seal.

LXXXII. [1407]

Mabel late wife of Randle de Lytteloure in her widowhood to John de Lytteloure, chaplain. Grant of a messuage, lands, rents, etc., in the town of Allelostok, with warrant. Witn.: Thomas le Grosuenor, knight, John de Holford, Thomas de Bradshawe, William de Bradshawe, Randle de Roulegh, etc. Dat. Allelostok, Saturday before St. James Ap. 8 Henry IV. (1407). Seal.

LXXXIII. [1407]

John [de Lytteloure, chaplain ?] to Roger de Lyttelour son of Randle de Lytteloure in tail. Grant of a messuage, lands, rents, etc., (which he had) of the feoffment of Mabel late wife of Randle de Lytteloure in the town of Allelostok, remainder to William de Merton, his heirs and assigns, with warrant. Witn.: Thomas le Grosuenor, knight, John de Holford, Thomas de Bradshawe, William de Bradshawe, Randle de Roulegh, etc. Dat. Allelostok monday, St. James Ap. 8 Henry IV. (1407). Seal.

LXXXIV. [1407]

Mabel late wife of oure in her widowhood to Roger de Lyttelour her son in tail. Quitclaim of a messuage, lands, rents,

etc., which Roger holds by feoffment of John de Lyttelour, chaplain in the town of Allelostok, remainder to William de Merton, his heirs and assigns, with warrant. Witn.: Thomas le Grosuenor, knight, John de Holford, Thomas de Bradshawe, William de Bradshawe, Randle de Roulegh, etc. Dat. Allostock, Wednesday after St. James Ap. 8 Henry IV. (1407). Seal.

LXXXV. [1415]

Thomas le Grosuenor, knight, to Robert le Page and John de Munshull. Letter of attorney to deliver seisin of all his messuages, lands, etc., in the towns of Allostok and Oueralderley to Robert de Knottesford, parson of Pulford, William Faysand and Thomas de Pulford, chaplains, their heirs and assigns. Dat. Saturday after the Translation of St. Thomas M. 3 Henry V. (1415). Seal, with device of a talbot.

LXXXVI. [1434]

William de Hendeley otherwise called William son of William Tomelynson to Robert, son of Thomas le Grosseuenor knight, his heirs and assigns. Quitclaim of all messuages, lands, etc., in Allostok and Netherpeuer wherein said Robert is now seised. Witn.: Randle le Maynwarynge, John le Maynwarynge, knights, John le Laycestre, etc. Dat. Allostok, Thursday after the Invention of Holy Cross 12 Hen. VI. (1434). Seal.

LXXXVII. 1497

William Eyton son and heir of Ralph Eyton to John Merton son and heir of William Merton. Quitclaim in a messuage and lands in Allostok in the tenure of Geoffrey Madoke. Dat. 24 October 13 Henry VII. (1497).

LXXXVIII. [1505]

John a M[ert]on son and heir of William a Merton, deceased, late of Bernton, co. Chester, to Thomas a Merton his brother. Grant of lands, etc., in the parish of Pever, which descended [to him after the death] of William a Merton. Thomas Tew of Witton and Robert son of the late William Pikmer, attorneys to deliver seisin. Dat. . . . June 20 Henry VII. (1505). (Defective.) Seal.

LXXXIX. [c1505 ?]

William Norcote, chaplain to . . . son and heir of William Merton. Quitclaim of messuage and lands in Allostok which he had of the [feoffment of] . . . Dat. 3 April . . . Henry VII. Seal. (A mere fragment.)

XC. [1550]

William Bradshawe, son and heir apparent of Henry Bradshawe of All[ostock], to Evan Holford, gent. Bond in 40*l.* to execute a lease of a tenement and lands in Allostocke, now in the tenure of William Cheshwurthe, within twelve days after the death of the said Henry Bradshawe, for a term of 21 years. Witnesses: George Torbocke, John Sworton the younger and Hugh Bonell. Dated 19 July 4 Edw. VI. (1550).

XCI. [1550]

William Bradshay son and heir of Henry Bradshay to Evan Holford. Receipt for 3*s.* 4*d.* for 20 trees growing upon his land. Dat. 3 November 4 Edward VI. (1550). (Endorsed.) Witn.: Ric. Wilbre, Hugh Batell, etc. Seal.

XCII. [1550]

Bond wherein William Bradshaw, son and heir of Henry Bradshaw of Allostocke, yeoman; is bound to Evan Holford, gent., in the sum of 20*l.*, conditioned for allowing the said Evan to cut down and carry away twenty trees upon the lands of the said William, after the death of the said Henry Bradshaw. Dat. 3 Nov. 4 Edw. VI. (1550). Seal.

XCIII. [1550]

Peter Shakerley of Hulme, co. Chester, esquire, and William son and heir apparent of Henry Bradshawe of Allostock, yeoman. Indenture reciting bond of said William in 200*l.* (in cons. of 11*l.*) before Edmund Gee, mayor, and Richard Sneyde, recorder, of Chester, dated 21 Nov. 4 Edw. VI., whereby said Peter covenants for the defeasance of the above recited bond, provided that said William within one quarter of a year after the decease of his said father assure to said Peter and his heirs for ever one meese with lands, etc., in Allostocke in the tenure of Nicolas Jacson, and that if said William be hereafter minded to sell or lease other meeses, lands, etc., in Allostocke they shall sell or let to no other person, provided that if said William or his heirs repay to said Peter 4*l.* within one quarter of a year after the decease of his said father, the bargain shall be void. Dat. 24 Nov. 4 Edward VI. (1550).

XCIV. [1550]

Bond of William Bradshawe son and heir apparent of Henry Bradshawe of Allostocke, yeoman, to Peter Shakerley, esquire, for payment of 100*l.* on Christmas day following the date. Dated at Chester 6 Dec. 4 Edw. VI. (1550). Sealed with a classical gem.

XCV. 1609

Indenture between Geffrey Shakerlye of Hulme, co. Chester, esquire, and Thomas Mee of Allostocke, husbandman. Lease of a messuage and lands in Allostocke late in the tenure of Thomas Mee, deceased, father of the said Thomas, for the lives of the said Thomas Mee, Anne his wife and Elizabeth Mee his daughter. Witnesses: Thomas Jackson, William Steele, William Longworth and Thomas Wright, clerk. Dated 8 April 1609.

Livery of seisin in the presence of Thomas Bramall and John Brooke 20 April 1609.

XCVI. [1680]

Peter Shakerley, esquire, plt., Robert Higgenson and Mary his wife deforc. Chirograph Fine of 3 acres of land, 2 of meadow and 3 of pasture in Allostocke. Warrant against the heirs of Robert: cons. 100*l.* Chester, 14 Aug. 32 Charles II. (1680).

(Folded in letter and lawyer's bill, and endorsed 'concerning the Mill Fields and Haume End.')

LOSTOCK AND THE GROSVENORS

IN the last number of *The Ancestor* I cited Ormerod's account of the deeds copied by Sir Peter Leycester some 250 years ago, little thinking that the originals would ever come into my hands. Hardly was my article in print however when, by a singular piece of good fortune, thanks to the kindness of the editor, I had an opportunity of examining them for myself. That any one, with the whole series before him, should accept the history of Allostock put forward in the depositions of John de Holford, is almost inconceivable, or rather the fact affords a fresh and striking example of the power a preconceived idea has to defeat sound judgment.

Leycester's pedigree of the Lostocks, incorporated in Ormerod,[1] accepts Hugh de Ronchamp as founder of the family, and makes Gralam de Lostock his grandson. On what authority he inserted a Richard de Ronchamp as son of Hugh and father of Gralam, and a second Gralam, is not stated. The grantee of Hugh Lupus would hardly have a grandson living in 1234, though a grantee of Hugh Kevelioc might. Gralam de Lostock is really the first of the house of whom we have any definite knowledge.[2] His charter (No. 1) carries a large round seal with a running hart; the background shows lines which probably represent undergrowth. Letitia his widow is mentioned (No. 15). He occurs in 1234 and 1241, and had at least four sons and a daughter:

Richard, his successor.

Robert, of whom mention is made (No. 7). Robert son of Robert de Lostock also occurs 1303–5 (Nos. 18, 19). A Robert son of Robert is found again in 1342 (No. 26), but he is probably of a third generation. His mother Agnes had remarried John le Voudrey.

Geoffrey de Lostock (No. 42), elsewhere called de Moreton,[3] who had a grant from Richard his brother of a moiety of Rode, and was seated at Moreton-Rode, or

[1] See Holford in Plumley, Ormerod, i. 669.

[2] He granted land in Lostock to the canons of Warburton, and as Gralam de Rundchamp is said to have witnessed a deed *circa* 1227. Beamont, *Arley Charters*, pp. 8, 16.

[3] Ormerod, iii. 49.

Little Moreton in Astbury. He had a son Gralam de Moreton; and Richard son of Gralam de Moreton occurs in 1351 (No. 32).

Thomas de Lostock, brother of Geoffrey (No. 42), had a son Thomas living in 1305 (Nos. 5, 15, 16, 18, 19), who had a daughter Agnes (Nos. 5, 18). Roger and John sons of Thomas de Lostock are named (Nos. 4, 17). There is also Richard son of Thomas the cook of Lostock, with a daughter Ellen (No. 12).

Maude 'de Lache,' mother of John de Cotun.[1]

Richard de Lostock, son of Gralam (*circa* 1250–75), was living at the accession of Edward I.,[2] but died before 1277. He had certainly two sons and a daughter:[3]

Richard, his successor.

Thomas de Lostok (No. 20) survived his brother, and is called his heir in Holford *v.* Vernon. He left a wife Roesia, who was suing for dower in 1324, but no issue.

Joan, called heir to her brothers, married *circa* 1277 William, a younger son of Roger de Toft (No. 9), by whom she had two sons:[4]

1. Roger de Holford, son and heir (1312), married *circa* 1307 Margery daughter of Richard le Despenser, and had from her brother John, a clerk, a conveyance of Holford, from which he took his name (Nos. 38, 39). He died without issue, Leycester says, in 1330.

2. Henry de Holford, heir to his brother, who witnesses deeds of 1345–6 (Nos. 28, 29, 79, 80). He is said to have survived his son William, who occurs in the Recognizance Roll of 1356, and was succeeded before 1368 by his grandson John de Holford, son of William, who recovered Lostock Gralam from Richard Vernon of Lostock, claiming as heir at law of Richard de Lostock the elder.

[1] See fragment of confirmation charter to Vale Royal, Recognizance Roll 50, m. 6.

[2] Holford *v.* Vernon, cited below.

[3] In a charter in the Trafford Collection (Chetham Library, Raines MSS. xxv. f. 91) Gilbert son of Richard de Lostock grants to William de Modlowe lands in Plumley, referring to a charter of Richard his brother: witn. Adam de Taweleg [Tabbelegh], William de Tooft, Joh' fil' de p' sona aula [*sic*: ? John son of the parson, John de Newhall], Randle the clerk, etc. Unfortunately the copy is a very bad one. Richard's charter is copied, very inaccurately, on f. 197.

[4] Sir Peter Leycester mentions also a son Walter.

According to Leycester and Ormerod, she married secondly (about 1316, or some forty years after her first marriage) Thomas, a younger son of Sir Ralph Vernon of Shipbrook, by whom she had a son Richard, ancestor of the Vernons of Haslington; and thirdly (in 1337) William de Hallum.

Richard de Lostock the younger had a grant from his father in 1260[1] of all his land in Plumley and Lache Dênis. He married before 1277 Agnes (daughter of Richard de Wilbraham, as Leycester says), who survived him, and was claiming dower in 1316. Holford's case was that he died without issue; but by a fine of December, 1306, the manor of Lostock Gralam is settled on Joan his daughter and heir, Ralph son of Ralph de Vernon and Richard her father being the parties. This fine, followed by the quitclaim from her uncle Thomas (No. 20), seems to indicate that she, and not Joan her aunt, was the wife of Thomas Vernon, and mother or grandmother of Richard Vernon of Lostock, who held the manor in 1368; and if we compare the ages of the two ladies, it will be seen that this inference is more likely to be correct than Leycester's pedigree. Thomas, as lord of 'Lostock upon Rudheth,' with his wife, granted licence to William Abbot of Chester (1324–49), who held the adjoining town of Holes, to enclose certain waste and heath.[2] She may have been afterwards wife of William de Hallum, for Thomas Vernon was dead before 1336;[3] but the deeds contain no evidence of such a marriage.

Meanwhile we have mention of other estates in the manor, the nature of which is somewhat mysterious. In 1320 Margaret widow of Ralph de Vernon the younger sues Thomas Vernon and his wife for dower of twelve messuages, with lands, and two-thirds of two mills in Lostok Gralam, claiming no doubt under the fine above mentioned.[4] I find no termination of this suit. In 1321 there is another fine by which Stephen de Trafford and Isabel his wife convey the manor to William de Baggelegh, sen. In the previous year Stephen and

[1] Plea Rolls 1, m. 4*d*.

[2] Recog. Roll 50, m. 3.

[3] In that year Joan, who was wife of Thomas de Vernon lord of Lostok, granted the manor of Lostok Gralam to Gilbert her son and heir (*Arley Charters*, p. 19). It has been assumed that the name is an error. Thomas Vernon granted lands in Lostok to John de Wyninton and John de Wyninton, jun. (Ibid. p. 17).

[4] Plea Roll No. 32, m. 2*d*, 4*d*.

Isabel were claiming against Richard Vernon, knight, who vouched Ralph de Baggelegh to warrant a charter of the manor of Lostok by Ponynton.[1] Isabel heiress of William Baggelegh married Sir Thomas Danyers, and he was seised of Lostok at his death in 1354,[2] leaving an only daughter his heir. This estate probably arose in some way out of the settlement made upon Joan Vernon; for when John Holford brings forward his claim on a writ of *formedon*, Richard Vernon vouches to warrant Margaret cousin and heir of Thomas Danyers, then wife of John Radclyf, but still under age.[3] First the plea of nonage, and then the death of the husband in 1369, delays the suit; after which the defendant shifts his ground, and pleads that the grant to his predecessor, the younger Richard, conferred an estate in fee simple and not in fee tail, which would leave the property at his disposal. Unfortunately the record does not set out his case in full detail, or explain the circumstances of his mother's birth, which was probably the real question at issue; nor have we a verdict, but merely a statement that in 1370 Vernon was in mercy for wrongful detenue of the manor. Holford was thus successful, and accordingly we find him making a quitclaim to Grosvenor in 1373 (No. 32), to confirm his title in the estates acquired from the Lostocks.

John de Holford was the deponent on Grosvenor's side in 1386, and died in 1408, seised of the manor of Plumley, and lands in Rudheath and Lachedenys.[4] Either the judgment just cited was upset, or he seems to have soon parted with Lostock Gralam, for it is not mentioned in the inquisition, or found afterwards in the possession of his heirs. He was however mesne lord of Hulme.

The arms of the elder line of Toft (for whom see No. 37) were silver with three text tees sable.[5] Joan Lostock's hus-

[1] Plea Roll No. 32, m. 22. [2] Ches. Inq. 28 Ed. III. No. 1.

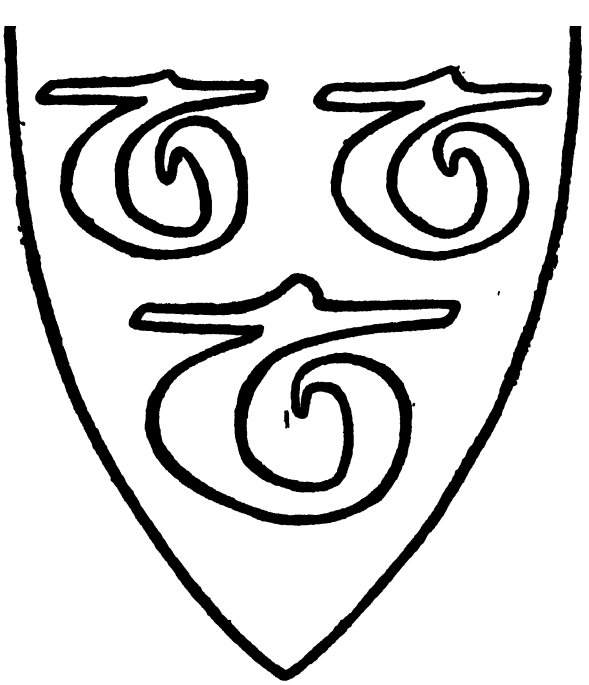
[3] Additional Roll 6279 contains an exemplification of this suit in the Court of Chester; see also Plea Rolls 72, 73. Leycester probably is referring to it when he states that the plaintiff recovered *Holford* from Vernon. The description of the vouchee is remarkable, since her title was apparently derived from her mother, and not from her grandfather. For her pedigree see Bulkylegh *v.* Savage and others, Plea Roll 73, m. 16.

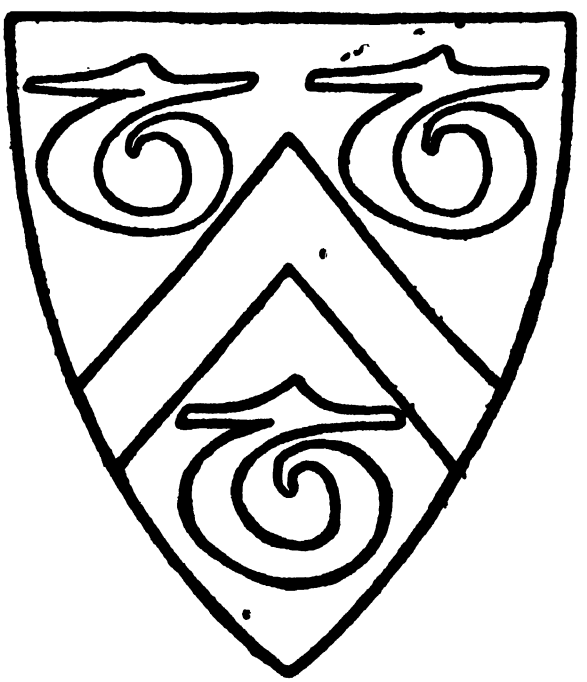
[4] Ches. Inq. 9 Hen. IV. No. 19. Vernon's descendants are described as of Lostock in Ormerod, iii. 317.

[5] So Leycester, who adds the maxim, Omnis additio probat minoritatem. Should they be called *tau* tees, or perhaps *taff* tees?

band, as a cadet, added a chevron, and John de Holford sealed with this coat. See for example No. 32. Later Holfords bore silver a greyhound sable, which we may probably regard as a Lostock coat,[1] since it was also borne by the Moretons. From Holford it was transferred to the *Halfords* of Leicestershire, who added for difference three gold fleurs-de-lis on a chief azure.

Of Hulme not much need be said. The grant or sub-infeudation of 1233–4 proves to be correctly reported. Hulme





was thus originally a member of Lostock Gralam, and held later of the Holfords as heirs of the grantor. Like Lostock itself, we find it described as 'upon Rudheath'; but at a later date, after being for many generations the seat of the Grosvenors, it was deemed to be 'in Allostock' (e.g. No. 50). There was litigation, it appears, of which no record remains, between Grosvenor and Chernoc about two bovates of land there, and that gave occasion to the release (No. 42). The quitclaim by Ralph Vernon the younger (No. 43) probably followed the fine of 35 Edward I., as that from John de Holford (No. 39) followed the successful termination of his suit with Vernon.

The story that Allostock was granted by Hugh Lupus to Robert Grosvenor is finally and absolutely disproved by this

[1] Is it possible to connect the greyhound with the name Gralam?

series of deeds; for here we have the names of several lords of Allostock, predecessors of the Grosvenors, in the thirteenth century. Those children of the forest could evidently draw the long-bow. First, there is Robert le Brun (of Stapleford Bruen), in King John's time, making a grant or subinfeudation to Robert son of Picgot (No. 51). About half a century later Alan de Allostock is lord of the manor, and makes an agreement to marry John, his son and heir, to a daughter of Michael de Goostrey (No. 52), who was one of the younger sons of Liulph the Sheriff, lord of Croxton.[1] Alan was dead before 1271; and his son John, while still a minor, agreed to sell the manor to Robert Grosvenor, an agreement to which effect was given by a subsequent instrument (Nos. 53, 54, 59). At the same time the purchaser bought up the common rights possessed by certain 'parceners and charterers' upon the demesne lands (No. 55). The first of these is Adam de Merton, who appears elsewhere (Nos. 57, 58, 72) as owner of a fourth part of the royalties.

This fact enables me to correct an error in my former paper, into which I was led by a statement in the Ledger Book of Vale Royal.[2] Robert le Grosvenour there owes service to the abbot for the town of Lostock, viz. his own share and that of Adam de Merton; but it is now clear that Allostock only is meant, and not Lostock Gralam as well. The latter was in fact held of the barons of Halton.[3] Merton's interest was acquired from John Marshall (No. 72), who however seems to have retained property in the place afterwards (No. 55).

One is tempted to dwell more at length upon the undertenants, Burdon and Boar, and that Stephen Nigh the Gale, whose name we see gradually transforming itself into Nightingale. There were Bradshaws at an early period seated at Bradshaw and Haigh in Lancashire; others again, bearing singularly enough the same arms, at Bradshaw in Glossop. Here we find a holding called Bradshaw in Allostock, and a third family, also named Bradshaw of Bradshaw, deriving from one Randle de Ruston. Like the Goostreys, the Winningtons are said to spring from a son of Liulph of Croxton. Alkoc of beyond Mersey is worth a note, for he is found again as Alexander (Nos. 57, 62), and thus supplies us with the ety-

[1] Ormerod, iii. 211.

[2] Harl. MS. 2064, f. 274.

[3] See apposed claim quoted, *The Ancestor*, No. 1, p. 181. Moreton Rode and Plumley were also held of them.

mology of a well known surname, which occurs in Toft (No. 34). Similarly I have found elsewhere a Hugh called also Hulkoc.

The Grosvenors themselves were so fully treated in my former paper that there is not much to add about them. Richard son of Randle le Grosvenor, purchaser of Hulme (No. 1), is followed by Robert son of Richard, purchaser of Allostock, and Robert son of Robert, with mention of Margery wife of one of these Roberts. One of them, probably the first, is described as bailiff of Northwich (No. 15). Then Robert le Grosvenor of Rudheath, and Emme his widow; but Ralph, their son, is never mentioned. A quitclaim of 1328 (No. 76) may be read as a confirmation of the recent death of the second Robert. Sir Robert Grosvenor, Scrope's antagonist, and his son Sir Thomas follow. At the partition of the Grosvenor estates, Hulme passed to Emme wife of John Legh of the Booths, and from her descended to the Shakerleys; and with it went the collection of deeds here printed.

To return to the record of the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, we find there a goodly array of deponents who, in answer to the usual interrogatory, acknowledge their connection, by blood or marriage, with Sir Robert Grosvenor. First however a few who reply to it in the negative:

Hugh de Coton,	aged	48	and more
Rauf de Egerton,	„	56	„
Roger de Moldeworth,	„	50	„
Robert de Hassall,	„	40	„
John de Frodesham,	„	56	„
John de Burgh's,	„	41	„

Those who simply answer in the affirmative are:

Raufe de Stavelegh,	aged	24	and more
Thomas de Stavelegh,	„	21	„
Robert de Dounes,	„	40	„
John de Davenport of Bromhale,	„	48	„
Robert de Hide,	„	50	„
Sir Richard de Bold,	„	46	„
Thomas le Vernoun,	„	28	„
William de Praers,	„	50	„
Sir John Mascy of Tatton,	„	50	„
Sir John Mascy of Podynton,	„	30	„

The last two are among Scrope's witnesses. Others are more precise. William and Robert Danyell and Lawrence de Dutton claim affinity, the Danyells no doubt being of his first wife's family. Her father is said to have had natural sons of those

names. Dutton was twice married, but both his wives are of unknown parentage. Hugh de Coton, junior, aged 31 and more, a cousin, degree unknown, no doubt descended from the Coton who married a Grosvenor, and was of a different family to the Hugh already mentioned. The following were cousins within the degrees of marriage:

Randle Maynwaring,	aged	26	and more
John Maynwaring,	„	29	„
Robert de Stavelegh, Esq.,	„	50	„
William de Hulme, Esq.,	„	43	„
John de Etoun,	„	26	„

Arthur de Davenport, aged 50 and more, claimed to be a cousin in the second degree; Hamon de Ascheley, 38 and more, in the third degree; Sir Rauf de Vernoun, knight, 46 and more, in the third and fourth degrees; and Matthew del Mere in the fourth degree.

It is remarkable in how few of these instances kinship can be satisfactorily traced. Sir Robert's grandmother, Emme de Modberlegh, had several sisters, of whom Margery married Richard de Bold of Bold in Lancashire, and Sir Richard was her grandson. John and Randle Maynwaring were, on their mother's side, grandsons of another sister, Mary wife of Nicholas Leycester of Tabley; and their sister Ellen is said to have married a Rauf Vernon. The wives of Matthew del Mere and John Davenport were granddaughters of Ellen, a third sister, who married Richard de Bromhale. Robert de Stavelegh was the father of Raufe and Thomas, but how related to Grosvenor does not appear. Were it possible to identify his mother, no doubt some of these kinsmen might be accounted for. As it is, the list will serve to illustrate the limits of our knowledge as genealogists. It is much if we can trace a single descent in the male line; collaterals and female descents are hardly ever known to us at so early a date.

In the case of Cheshire, the Plea Rolls are a mine of information on these subjects, had any one the time and patience to make a thorough study of them. Mr. Peter Turner's work in this direction was most valuable; but he has merely scratched the surface. Let no one therefore suppose that the genealogical treasures they contain have been exhausted, or be deterred from searching the rolls themselves. Even if the evidence he wants be not forthcoming, his labour will hardly be without reward.

W. H. B. BIRD.

ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE SCHOOLS[1]

This *Companion to English History* is at least a spirited attempt to encourage schools and schoolmasters to give some measure of their day's work to the study of the past of the nation. For its success it must wait until the day when the rulers of the nation's schooling see fit to allot the all-needful 'marks' to this learning which may be surely placed amongst the more enlightening of the humaner letters. And as that day is certainly far ahead of us we may hope that Mr. Barnard will by that time, in a second edition, have re-organized what should be a more useful and in some respects a more trustworthy manual than is this first issue of his *Companion*.

The very design of the book—'primarily for higher educational purposes'—has hampered its making. Twelve closely written essays, with their accompanying illustrations, pack very uncomfortably into some 350 pages, and the desire to produce a book which should be first a school book has cramped size and form with bad results for the illustrations, which are for the most part tracings and drawings from well known sources over-reduced in fitting them to the small page.

The selection of twelve essayists who should speak with authority on subjects which range from Shipping to Monasticism has in the nature of things proved no light task. Familiar names are here. We may trust Dr. Jessopp to discourse pleasantly of the monks and the friars, and may hope for instruction when Mr. Leadam speaks of trade and commercial polity. But the twelve oarsmen row Mr. Barnard's galley with a very uneven stroke. The Rev. Arthur Galton on Ecclesiastical Architecture may here be compared with his bench-fellow, Mr. J. A. Gotch, on Domestic Architecture. By an unfortunate selection Mr. Galton's ill-written and uncritical compilation is allowed the first place in the volume, and with it run the most spiritless diagrams that ever illustrated a trot down the well beaten track from Earls Barton

[1] *The Companion to English History* (middle ages), edited by Francis Pierrepont Barnard, M.A., F.S.A. (Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1902).

tower to Magdalen College. So little feeling for the treasures within our churches inspires Mr. Galton, that in pattering his list of them he ends with the characteristic remark that the boards painted with the royal arms which are generally found amongst church lumber are 'among the most interesting and satisfactory memorials in our national churches.' The account of monastic buildings calls for correction line by line. A general notion of the arrangements of monasteries can be obtained only, we are told, from 'disconnected accounts and from various ruins,' and Mr. Galton does not appear to have been aided in his general notion by the study of the arrangements of Canterbury, Westminster, Durham or Fountains. The old buildings of the Oxford colleges, although plainly founded upon the lines of private houses, follow, in Mr. Galton's opinion, the plan of the monastery. The list of the books which Mr. Galton has studied upon his subject is eloquent in its omissions, especially those of books embodying the results of modern research, and it is clear that Mr. Galton should have stayed longer at the bookshelves before helping to add to them.

For a contrast follows from Mr. J. A. Gotch's practised hand a history of Domestic Architecture, which should interest student and antiquary alike. Mr. Gotch's heart is too much in the English work of the renaissance to allow him to stay his pen short of the Jacobean period, but the small space at his command does not hinder him from giving in a lucid and connected story a workmanlike outline of the growth of the English house, and his illustrations and plans are well chosen and illuminating.

'Military Architecture and the Art of War' must inevitably bring Mr. Oman upon the stage, and Oman on the Art of War is naturally placed by him at the head of the works of reference upon his subject. His illustrations he draws for the most part from the useful M. Viollet le Duc, and the first sentences of his story of the castles show that he is still an obstinate believer in the legend of the *burh*, and that the exploded theories of Mr. G. T. Clark may still reckon one loyal supporter. Once clear however of the Norman keep, in whose shadow the antiquary to-day exchanges cut and thrust with a fierceness sympathetic to his surroundings, Mr. Oman tells his tale clearly, marking well the points of change during the centuries.

When papers from *The Companion to English History* come, as its editor prophesies, to be set in the higher forms of public schools, the schoolboy, even though he be Macaulay's schoolboy, and with a pretty taste for drawing knights in armour on fly leaves, will set Mr. Albert Hartshorne's essay on Military and Civil Costume with the irregularities of the Greek verb and the like accursed things. For Mr. Hartshorne is less interested and indeed much less successful in describing the history of costume than in finding a Latin or French word to pin to each piece of stuff or steel plate. The feather-bush must be a *panache*, the knee-cop a *genouillère*, the belt a *cingulum*, and the strap a *guige*, until the page, powdered with italics, becomes most uncomfortable reading, and the wood is obscured by the trees.

The editor's own article upon Heraldry is manifestly the affair of one with heart and enthusiasm for the little art. It is to be regretted that doubtless by reason of over-generousness to his fellow-workers he has denied himself a sufficient body of illustration. With bad economy a great part of his plates are filled with diagrams showing how the ribs and bars and clamps of the fighting shield may have influenced the form of the early heraldic charges. Although interesting enough in themselves, we could have spared a few of them in exchange for illustrations of heraldry from original sources of the great period, the more especially as Mr. Barnard himself is too good a critic to attach too much importance to these coincidences of shield-stays with bars and cheverons, or to rank himself with those who will not credit our twelfth century ancestors with enough artistic initiative for the devising out of hand of a broad stripe of paint up and down or across the shield. The rest of the illustrations are not always well chosen, and the lack of original authority is marked. The two or three coats given as from rolls of arms are in each case from copies. In one case the sketch could have resembled no possible original of early date, and with hundreds of horseman seals in existence to choose from we ought not to be fobbed off with a picture of the seal of Sayer de Quenci from Spelman's ridiculously inaccurate engraving of 1654. How little a good library will supply the place of original work at headquarters is shown again by the four shields which Mr. Barnard takes from Camden to illustrate a case of arms derived from an over-lord. In this case Camden is followed to disaster, for three out of

four surnames are mis-spelt. Mr. Barnard sins with the nineteenth century novelists from Walter Scott onward in regarding the hobeler and archer as necessarily yeomen, and therefore ungentle. As a matter of practice the class which we may describe as that of the country gentleman served with the hobelers, and the mounted archer also must have been as a rule a gentleman. The statement that coat-armour was the *preuve de noblesse* might have been modified had Sir George Sitwell's now famous article been put forth earlier. From Mr. Barnard we look for better work, as we understand that from his hand we are to expect the long-needed modern editions of the medieval treatises on heraldry.

Mr. Oppenheim's account of English Shipping is well arranged and excellently illustrated. Mr. Rushforth's article on English Art is thin and unsatisfactory, and occasionally misleading. 'Learning and Education,' 'Town Life' and 'Country Life' are each good essays, although suffering from the narrowness of their space limits, Mr. Warner's story of the medieval games under 'Country Life' being especially delightful reading.

For the good essays then let us hope that they may encourage their readers to wider study of their themes. Their dulness should take from the bad ones their power for harm. We leave *The Companion to English History* with the feeling that although it may never reach the public schoolboy his form master at least might be allowed to benefit by many of its chapters.

HUCHOWN OF THE AWLE RYALE[1]

When death, as William Dunbar laments, had taken 'out of this countrie' the good Sir Hew of Eglintoun, the good knight's fame as a maker soon followed him into silence, the single line of Dunbar standing for his only monument. Mr. Neilson in the present treatise asserts that Sir Hew was none other than Huchown of the Awle Ryale—Hugh of the Hall Royal—the first great master of Scottish verse and author of

[1] *Huchown of the Awle Ryale, the Alliterative Poet.* A historical criticism of fourteenth century poems ascribed to Sir Hew of Eglintoun, by George Neilson (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1902).

the *Morte Arthure*, the *Destruction of Troy*, *Wynnere and Wastoure*, *Gawayne and the Green Knight*, and much more. To follow Mr. Neilson's careful and constructive criticism is hardly within the scope of such a review as *The Ancestor*, but the attention of our readers may be called to Huchown's heraldry, in which Mr. Neilson finds many a clue to hand. A useful work might be done were a student to collect all such passages from middle English work, for from sources such as *Gawayne* we can draw some knowledge of the English forms of those blazons which the early rolls of arms record only in the French tongue. Thus in *Gawayne* the

> . . . banere is upbrayde with a bende of grene
> With thre hedis whiteherede with howes on lofte;

and the knight's scarf crossed from his shoulder is described as

> A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bright grene.

Needless to say, these English romances of chivalric days give us nothing of the ors and argents of the handbooks of heraldry. Our study of medieval costume also might gain were the middle English romances searched for words which should replace the late French vocabularies which are thrust upon us by the authors of the dictionaries of costume.

BURLEY-ON-THE-HILL[1]

The house of Burley-on-the-Hill is a great square-built mansion of grey stone with noble terraces before it. Standing on a plain 500 feet above sea level, there are few places in Rutland from which one may not see the heavy mass of this grim Italian palace, which Lord Nottingham reared to be his seat in the place of Kensington House which he had sold to his master King William.

Before it came to the hands of the grave son of a grave Lord Chancellor, Burley had been a dwelling of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and it was here, during the revels played before King Charles and Queen Henrietta, that Jeffrey Hudson, 'the smallest man of the smallest county,'

[1] *History of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland*, by Pearl Finch. London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Limited, 1901.



FRANCES, WIFE OF SIR HENEAGE FINCH.

was served up in a pie at the high table. Two pictures of the Burley dwarf are reproduced by Miss Finch, whereof the earlier one shows Jeffrey as a merry little fellow in a feathered cap; but in the later picture which hangs at Hampton Court we see more of the sour, tetchy little dwarf who shot the foolish young gentleman who mocked him by bringing a squirt upon the duelling ground. With the second Villiers the idle revelling days of Burley were ended. A Roundhead garrison sat in its high places, spoiling and wasting its treasures, and firing it at the last when rumour of a Royalist attack made them leave the ruined house behind them. All that remains of the palace of the Buckinghams is the great stables, of which Fuller jangled out the phrase that it must be the best house in England for horses 'if their *pabulum* were so plenty as their *stabulum* stately.'

After these waterfly Villierses came the black funereal Finches to nest at Burley. The house which the fire had gutted was pulled down and the new house begun in 1674. £15,000 was the sum at which Lord Nottingham estimated the work before him, but £80,000 were spent in the thirty years which passed before the work was brought to an end.

It is her detailed description of this building from the first quarrying of the stone which gives its great value and interest to the work of Miss Pearl Finch. Contracts, estimates and plans are set forth at length, and from few other sources could the student of architecture of the late Renaissance in England draw so complete a picture of the building of a great house. Good detail again is given of the restoration of Burley church in 1700. Burley had the sad history of many churches which lie too near a great house and a rich and benevolent neighbour. *Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini.* A church restored in 1700, and again in 1795, on which occasion the windows were cut square and filled with plain glass, keeps little of its original flavour after a thorough Pearsonizing in 1869.

As with the architectural portion of the book so with the family history. Miss Finch in her story of her family from the seventeenth century to the present has chosen wisely amongst letters, diaries, accounts and household orders, and put together a pretty picture of the ordered life of Burley-on-the-Hill. The family pedigree is modestly approached. Although the legend which makes Henry I. the founder of the

Finches is seemingly given the credit which it does not deserve, the tabular pedigree begins with William Finch of Netherfield, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex under Henry VI., beyond whom the family might be traced for two or three generations at the least. The second volume is made up of a catalogue of the treasures of Burley—pictures, plate and MSS. The list of MSS. however shows indifferent appreciation of their relative value, and the list of plate is hurried through without any cognizance being taken of such matters as plate marks or dates.

With much valuable material the book is far from being one which may be held up for the imitation of others who would set about such a pleasant task as this which Miss Finch has achieved. In too many places where expert assistance should have been sought Miss Finch has dealt unaided with matters outside her experience. More especially is this the case with her account of the early history of the parish and church, which would have been far better omitted. For this early history, from Domesday to the days of the Buckinghams, no authority is referred to beyond a single reference to Wright's *Rutland*. Personal names suffer the strangest mangling. Warin de Lisle appears as 'de Insular,' the Despensers as the 'De Spensers.' The story of the church is allowed to begin with 'Robert Molent (*sic*), Earl of Leicester,' who 'founded in the reign of Stephen (1140) of Foulelevrond (*sic*) (Normandy), a Benediction House (*sic*!).' A footnote lays the guilt of this paragraph upon the Rev. M. Barton, for whose information the author acknowledges herself indebted; but before accepting such information Miss Finch would have done well to inquire of some competent person the meaning, if any, of the words she was setting down. The first institution to the church of Burley is recorded as that of Abraham *de* Sacristor in 1275 'by prioress and convent of Eaton, i.e. Nuneaton or diocese of Geoffry'! Here again Miss Finch is entitled to an explanation from the Rev. M. Barton of these mysterious words. Fortunately these faults occur in but a small section of the book, but they catch the eye too readily to be passed over.

The volumes are handsomely produced, lavishly illustrated with good reproductions of family portraits, two of which by the courtesy of Miss Finch we are enabled to reproduce. And the index, although reasonably full, might be a better one.



ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF WINCHILSEA,
WIFE OF SIR MOYLE FINCH.

THREE LOWTHERS OF IRELAND

Sir Edmund T. Bewley has issued in pamphlet form his notes upon three members of the Lowther family who held judicial office in Ireland in the seventeenth century.[1] The first of these was Sir Gerard Lowther, a son of Sir Richard Lowther of that ilk. In 1610 he was sent over from England to be a judge of the court of Common Pleas in Ireland, that court being then presided over by three judges who are described in a state paper of 1611 as 'old and weak men.' One only of these judges, Nicholas Welche, knight, is described in this memorandum as a native of Ireland. Sir Gerard Lowther—he was knighted in 1618—became an undertaker in the plantation of Ulster, where upon his lands in the county of Fermanagh he built a fort with a 'bawn' about it, whereof he made his brother Captain Hugh Lowther his castellan. Sir Edmund Bewley gives a full abstract of his will made September 24, 1624, from the original remaining at Dublin, and it is noteworthy that this original is described as being engrossed upon a skin of parchment with the remains of a large pendant seal attached. Unless Sir Edmund has been deceived by the appearance of a probate copy, to which a signature in imitation of an original one is often added, we have here an example of that parchment will with its hanging seal so frequently brandished by the wicked steward of the play, and familiar in the last chapter of the historical novel. Those who have handled great store of ancient wills know that paper was the material used by the scriveners who drew them up. Mr. Walter Rye, in his well-known work upon records and record searching, declares that he has never handled an original will upon parchment, and the present writer can only recall two instances. The second Lowther of whom Sir Edmund treats was Sir Lancelot Lowther, a younger brother of Sir Gerard and Captain Hugh. In 1617 he followed his brother into Ireland with a patent of a Baron of the Exchequer, and died in 1637. The third Lowther judge in Ireland was another Sir Gerard Lowther, a baron of the Exchequer in 1628 and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 1634 to his death in 1660. Sir Edmund Bewley has set himself to clear

[1] *Some Notes on the Lowthers who held Judicial Office in Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, by Sir Edmund T. Bewley, LL.D., late a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland (Kendal, 1902).

up the obscurity of this Gerard's birth. The ordinary works of reference confuse him with his godfather, the first of the Lowther judges, Sir Egerton Brydges, Mr. Joseph Foster and the *Dictionary of National Biography* all allowing Gerard the second to swallow up Gerard the first. The disentanglement of these two is the point achieved by the present pamphlet. Sir Gerard II., although he was admitted to Queen's College, Oxford, in 1605, as 'of Cumberland, *arm. fil. nat. max.*,' is described in a privately compiled pedigree now in the Ulster office as a bastard son of Sir Christopher Lowther of Lowther the elder brother of Gerard I. and Lancelot. Certain passages in his will, which contains a bequest in peculiar form to his mother's unnamed kindred, and the limitations of his estates, which seem to be framed in recognition of the fact that a bastard has no heirs at law, appear to confirm the statement of the Ulster Office pedigree.

It is matter of remark that these three lawyer settlers in Ireland founded no family of Lowther in the island. Each married two wives, but the transplanted stocks were fruitless, and each judge died leaving no issue behind him.

The Irish author of the *History of the King's Inns* writes that 'Sir Gerard Lowther acquired a large property by steering with unprincipled craft through the boisterous ocean of contemporary troubles.' The description seems to serve well enough. He was the king's man at Oxford in 1644. In 1646 he was one of the commissioners treating for the surrender of Dublin to the parliament, and afterwards slips easily into the attitude of a devout and loyal supporter of the dynasty of Cromwell. Sir Edmund tickets him as a time-server, and has contempt for his humble letter of thanks to Henry Cromwell in acknowledgment of good offices; but it was an age of time servers, and the letters of the cavalier gentry to the Commissioners for Compounding have many passages which would have been sad reading for Sir Walter Scott.

THE NORMAN PEOPLE

A RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW

THE study of genealogy is rich in illustration of the mental perversity of man, of his misdirected toil, of his self-deception. It is no exception to the standing rule that in all departments of antiquarian research the 'crank' ramps and revels. The distinctive mark, perhaps, of the 'crank' is that, even when his premisses are right, his conclusions are invariably wrong. Book after book has been compiled, often with much labour, the contents of which are either useless or worse than useless, because misleading, from the fact that the author is unable to reason even if he would, or that he is under the obsession of some wonderful theory which distorts his view of the simplest facts and with which the whole of the evidence before him must be forced, by hook or by crook, to fit. In the course of a long and varied experience of this curious and provoking *genus* I have been struck by its endless varieties, but one of the most common and quite the most dangerous may be described as the plausible 'crank.' His reasoning might deceive even the elect. It is only when an expert devotes the time and labour necessary for testing his facts, his quotations and his arguments one by one, that the whole edifice is found to have been raised laboriously on nothing. And then the 'crank' will curse him or charge him with personal spite; and if the 'crank' has friends they will support him, right or wrong; and the public—well, the public will say that it really does not matter, and may even ask why the poor 'crank' should not have as good a right to his views as the expert. All which is scarcely encouraging to the pursuit of mere truth.

With this short introduction, which is by no means unneeded, I pass to the book of which the name stands at the head of this review. It was announced in the prospectus of *The Ancestor* that a feature would be made of 'retrospective notices of works which are considered useful to the antiquary and of works against which he may need to be warned.' To the latter class, I propose to show, *The Norman People* emphatically belongs. It is obviously no easy matter to assess even approximately the influence that may have been exercised by a

book of this character, or the weight that may have been attached to its authority by seekers after ancestry; but there is certainly no work that can rival *The Norman People* in its appeal to claimants of Norman descent or in the vast number of families who will find their surnames within its covers. Moreover, its statements are accepted and quoted *verbatim* in the Duchess of Cleveland's work *The Battle Abbey Roll* (1889), which, setting aside its main contention, contains much excellent and up-to-date genealogy. And the irony of the position is this: the duchess, who accepted the Roll as a genuine and contemporary list of those who accompanied the Conqueror, cited without question the assertions of *The Norman People*, of which the author, in his Introduction, had expressly rejected the *Roll's* authority, cruelly observing that 'its existence from the Conquest at Battle Abbey is a mere myth, depending on the authority of some unknown herald of the sixteenth century.'

Indeed the strangest feature of this curious book is the healthy scepticism and sound criticism evoked from its author by certain pedigrees of an obviously fabulous character coincident with his own manufacture, on a wholesale scale, of others inviting precisely the same criticism as that in which he has indulged. Take, for instance, the origin of the Cliffords. In his chapter of 'Criticism of Family History' he takes this as a test instance and discusses it at some length. The 'peerage writers' are condemned for providing Richard FitzPons, the family patriarch, with an impossible father; and for this affiliation, we read, there is no authority 'except the statement of the peerage—no other authority in support of that statement is vouchsafed.' Precisely the same remarks apply to the author's own derivation of the Cliffords from the barons or princes of Pons in Saintonge, for the pedigree rests, it will be found, on no authority but his own.[1] To anticipate somewhat, one may state at once that his assertions, however definite, are found, in case after case, to have no foundation whatever. He guessed that A was the son of B, and then proceeded to state it as a fact. Dealing, for instance, at great length with the origin of the Stuarts, he asserted that Alan seneschal of Dol was the son of a 'Guienoc,' who 'was probably a son of Hamo I. Viscount of Dinan,

[1] A special authority on Domesday tenants, Mr. A. S. Ellis, has observed that 'the statements about the ancestry and descendants of Pons in a work called *The Norman People* are untrustworthy.'

representative of the ancient counts of Dol and Dinan,' whose 'origin is lost in antiquity' (p. 409). This guess—for it is nothing more—develops, even on the same page, into the definite statement that Hamo 'had six sons,' of whom Guienoc was the youngest!

If the book were obviously one in which no confidence could be placed, there would be no need to warn the reader against accepting its statements. But on the one hand its author assumes the character of a cautious, careful, critical writer; and, on the other, he fortifies his position by an imposing array of references, references moreover to works which he has evidently read and studied. He proves, for instance, that descent from 'Guienoc' by a charter in Lobineau's *Bretagne*, which mentions 'Alan the Seneschal son of Guienoc' (p. 408). But on verifying his reference we discover unfortunately that the words 'the Seneschal' have been interpolated by him, and that this 'Alan son of Guienoc' might have been any one. Another similar collapse occurs in the descent he assigned to the Toler family, which he made the subject of special study (pp. 73–4, 420). Here is his statement, definite as usual:—

> Hugh de Toulouse obtained grants from Richard FitzGilbert in Surrey. His grandson Peter de Thalews (Toulouse) held more than two fees there in 1165 from the house of De Clare (Liber Niger).

Again we verify the reference—and discover that Peter's name was not 'de Thalews,' but de 'Talewe,' de 'Thalewe,' or de 'Talleu,' according to the official edition of *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 405). This correction in itself would not be of much importance; but there is more to come. For, like the author of *The Norman People*, the editor of *The Red Book* has his obsessions; and it is one of these that a contraction occurring at the end of a name should be normally extended as 'e.' Remembering that this learned person has actually delivered a course of lectures on the reading and editing of MSS., one almost hesitates to recall the fact that his quaint delusion evolved an 'Armere' out of a member of the Armentières family,[1] or to point out that his Black Book *Thalewe* ought to be read Thalew[urth], that is, Talworth in Surrey.[2] The name presents no difficulty, for Talworth was

[1] See p. 193 above.

[2] See his own Preface, pp. xlvi., xlviii., for a mention of Talworth ('Thalewurtha'). The actual spelling of the termination varied, of course, as in all such names.

one of the De Clare manors, and had been held by Richard FitzGilbert in 1086, as a large manor, in two moieties.[1]

Thus then there vanishes into space the Toulouse descent of Toler, as indeed it might be expected to vanish, for the first Toler was of course a 'toller,' that is, a taker of tolls.[2] He had naturally nothing to do with Toulouse or, for the matter of that, with Talworth.

But the really serious point that here emerges is the liberty taken by the official editor of *The Red Book of the Exchequer* with the MSS. with which he had to deal. The return of the knight's fees of the Clares in which this entry occurs is one of the two of which the originals are fortunately still preserved, and Mr. Hall asserts that it gives the name in question as 'Talewe,' and that in *The Black Book of the Exchequer* the form is 'Thalewe.' Knowing the untrustworthy character of the work, I have been at the pains to examine both MSS., although there was great difficulty in finding the original return. As might be expected, it turned out this return had *Talew'* and that the *Black Book* had *Thalew'*, both forms representing Talworth when properly extended. It is obvious that such treatment of names as this makes the official edition of a record worse than useless, because misleading. And no amount of pompous talk in a quasi-scientific jargon can alter this elementary fact. If we require instructing in the art of 'diplomatic,' we shall certainly not obtain it by the light of a 'Talewe' candle.

To return to *The Norman People*. It may have been observed that among the families claimed by its author as 'Norman' are families which he himself deduces from Saintonge, Brittany and Toulouse, yet it is the very thesis of his book that about a third of the English people are not only of Norman origin, but therefore of Scandinavian blood, and akin consequently to another third, which is roughly the proportion he assigns to the Danish element in the people. As a matter of fact the Bretons and the Flemings were numerous in William's host, a fact to which we have been largely blinded by our use of the word 'Norman.' But even including all the populations represented among the invaders we can only reach the author's estimate by adopting every conceivable device to twist a name

[1] See the *Victoria History of Surrey*, i. 317, 318.

[2] See Bardsley's *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (1901), p. 756.

into a foreign shape, or to trace a house to a foreign stock. The real wonder is that there are any English left.

The first of these extraordinary devices, or 'constructive principles' as the author terms them, to which I shall call attention is that a Latinized name was of necessity a Norman one in medieval England. On the Hundred Rolls, for instance, the scribes Latinized the village reeve, smith, miller, reaper, etc., as *præpositus*, *faber*, *molendinarius*, *messor*, etc. These are at once claimed by our author as the names of men who were certainly or probably Norman (pp. 96–7). We even read (pp. 80, 401) that 'the name Smith does not appear till the thirteenth century, being then a translation from Faber or Le Fevre.' Indeed the 'Godric Faber' of Domesday, bearer of a typical English name, is cited in perfect unconsciousness of the fact that the scribes had merely Latinized 'the smith.' And every reeve on the Hundred Rolls was assumed in like manner to be one of the Le Prévôt family, because he was Latinized as 'prepositus.' The next device was based on an assumption far too commonly made, namely, that because a family bears the name of some locality it is therefore of necessity descended from its former lords. The name, of course, would be similarly borne by a native of that locality who sought his fortune at a distance and even, one finds, by serfs. The author however constructed many of his fanciful descents by looking out the name of the place in Domesday and then deriving the family which bears it from that of its alien lords. Proof he deemed superfluous. The third device, the one perhaps of which the author was proudest, was the use he made of the evidence furnished by armorial bearings (pp. 71–5). This 'independent and most satisfactory testimony' depended on the author's curious belief that 'in numerous instances families have preserved their armorial (*sic*) under all the changes which their names have undergone in the course of ages.' Apparently it did not occur to him that a family which had sunk and had subsequently emerged anew was not in the habit of using an 'armorial' in the intervening period. Moreover, Robson's *British Herald*, from which he derived his information, would obviously include mere assumptions of old coats by *novi homines* while even the grants of new coats are based on the lamentable principle of assigning close imitations of old ones to those who have no right to the latter, although they may happen to bear a name more or less similar. The pirating of old arms

or their 'colourable imitation' are the practices mainly responsible for the alleged similarity on which the author's conclusions are based. He was in fact 'arguing in a circle' which began with the assumption by a family, or the grant to it, of arms resembling those borne by an ancient house of similar name, and ended by adducing the fact as proof that they were descended from the house in question.

Some instances of the application of his methods may now be given. The Peerage affords the choicest cases, for 'the origin of the peerage families of the kingdom' formed the subject of his keenest investigation (pp. 12–22) and of his most sensational discovery. Refusing to accept early pedigrees 'on the mere authority of the heralds or genealogists of the sixteenth or seventeenth century,' our critically-minded author swept aside their 'fabrications,' cleared the ground 'from the rubbish which had been permitted to accumulate,' and then 'traced family after family historically to the Conquest and beyond it.' What he was pleased to term 'an unbiassed and independent enquiry' revealed to him the fact that the peerage of England is 'almost entirely Norman, . . . and that this observation especially applies to peerages of modern date.' To do justice to this discovery, one must quote the author's own words :

> Why is it that the peerage of England, which is continually recruited from the lower and middle classes, nevertheless remains essentially Norman, and not only Norman, but in a great degree lineally descended from the Norman nobility of the Conquest? . . . The same Norman nobility which surrounded the throne of the Conqueror continues, in its remote posterity, to occupy the same place in the reign of the Conqueror's latest descendant, our present Sovereign.

How this conclusion was reached a few examples will show.

The modern Percies, as all the world knows or ought to know, are in reality Smithsons ; and Smithson is a name which cannot well present the slightest difficulty, especially to those who remember such names as Cookson, Clarkson and Wrightson. But this, of course, would never do. The Smithsons, our author explains, are 'a branch of the baronial family of Scalers or De Scallariis,' for whom even a Norman origin is not of sufficient antiquity. They 'probably' came, we learn, from Aquitaine, where they had flourished since the eighth century. The proof? Well, 'soon after 1086, Smydeton, or Smithton (now Smeaton),' was granted to a Malger de Scalers.

Need one observe that Smydetone is not 'Smithton,' that a family deriving its name from it would be 'Smeaton,' and that even 'Smithton' is not 'Smithson'? No derivation is too improbable, too far-fetched, too unsupported by evidence to be adduced by our author, if only it enables him to claim a 'Norman' origin for a modern peerage family. The pindar, like the toller, was a functionary whose name speaks for itself; and most of us have heard of the Pindar of Wakefield. But because the Earls Beauchamp are Pindars paternally, it is claimed, apparently, that Pindar is a translation of Le Bailli, and therefore Norman; nay, even that the Pindars are 'probably descended from William, a Norman of distinction,' though the pedigree is impossible to follow. It was one of the author's delusions that a name of office, like Pindar, was only borne by one family. For he similarly makes the astonishing suggestion that Hugh Wac, the earliest known ancestor of the Wake family, was 'probably' the son of 'John Vigil,' who occurs on the Pipe Roll of 1130. Need one explain that the *vigiles* who occur on the early Pipe Rolls were simply night-watchmen who are entered as paid for their services? Another name of occupation met with on the early Pipe Rolls is that of *parcarius*, the keeper of a park or wood. It is obvious that the families of 'Parker' who descended from these officers would be wholly unconnected in each case, the name being solely derived from the office. Our author assigns to the Parkers, Earls of Macclesfield, and to Archbishop Parker, a pedigree from the Conquest, as having been originally 'de Lions.' Unfortunately for him I happen to know that the 'Parker' family of Croxton, through whom he traces them, really bore the name, not of Parker, but of Porter! And in this way another pedigree goes by the board.

There is grim if unconscious humour in the author's comment under Rawdon, that 'the early pedigree of this family from the Conquest stated in the Peerages is mythic and unsupported by any evidence.' For the comment applies exactly to innumerable pedigrees of his own. Reckless affiliation in the earlier generations and mere assumption for the later ones are often their sole basis. Two families of 'Browne' are recognized, the one 'evidently of foreign descent,' which 'is armorially connected with an Irish line,' and thus provides a Norman ancestry for the Lords Oranmore; the other, descended from 'Turulph, a companion of Rollo,' who 'obtained, 912,

the barony of La Ferté,' contributes 'the Marquises of Sligo, Barons Kilmaine, and Viscounts Montague' to our Norman Peerage. 'Cooper' or 'Cowper,' the author admits, was in some cases derived from 'Le Cuper, a trade'; but, in order to support his great theory of the Norman origin of our peerage, the Earls Cowper and the Earls of Shaftesbury are asserted to descend from the house of De Columbers, one of whom was styled 'Le Cupere, being probably cupbearer to the King'! It is after such frantic efforts as this to twist facts to suit his theory that the author reminds us of his 'persuasion' that, with his scientific caution, he has rather 'understated' his case.

His utterly reckless treatment of names is seen in such a case as 'Knatchbull or de Molbec from Molbec in the Cotentin,' of which we read:

> Hugh de Molbec held Chenebella from Walter Giffard, 1086 (Domesday). His descendants were named De Kenebel, Kenebol, Kenetbole, Kenechbole and Knatchbull. In 1165 Matilda de [Mol]bec held a fee from Earl Walter Giffard, Humphry de Kenebelle (her son) in Gloucester, and William Fitz Matilda, another son, four fees in Bucks, from Earl Walter (Liber Niger). . . . The name of Kemble is the modern form of Kenebel.

On this I would observe (1) that the Hugh de 'Molbec' of 1086 is a demonstrable error of the scribe for Hugh de 'Bolbec,' a great tenant of Walter Giffard, whose heir held of Walter's heir in 1166 ('1165') 20 knight's fees as Hugh 'Bolebeche'; (2) that 'Matildis de Bec (Liber Niger) was neither a Molbec nor a Bolbec; (3) that 'William Fitz Matilda' was '*Richard* Fitz *Mabel*' (Liber Niger), and consequently not her son; (4) that 'Humphry de Kenebelle' also was not her son; (5) that Kenebelle is now Kimble, Bucks; (6) that neither Kimble nor Kemble have anything whatever to do with Knatchbull. Fast on the heels of Knatchbull follows Knill. The bearers of the latter name appear to have derived it from Knill (Heref.). But our author declares the surname of Knill to be identical with Channel, which is 'armorially identified with Charnell,' which, in turn, is really 'Carnell, from Carnelles near Evreux.' This derivation is as wild, it will be seen, as that of Knatchbull.

Let us take another instance. The early lords of Abergavenny were named de Ballon, from the stronghold of Ballon in Maine; the early lords of Monmouth were descended from William Fitz Baderon, Baderon being a Christian name. Our author jumbled in hopeless confusion the names of Ballon and

Baderon and the two distinct families. The first derivation is this :

> BALLADEN from Baladon (*sic*), a castle in Anjou. Drogo de Baladon held a Barony in the Welsh Marches, 1086, and from him descended the De Baladuns or Balaons, Barons of Monmouth. From a younger branch descends the existing family of HUNTLEY.

The facts are that no such barony was held in 1086 by Drogo de Baladon (whose very existence indeed appears to be fictitious), and that 'the De Baladuns or Balaons' had nothing to do with Monmouth. Under 'Huntley' we plunge into the other family, as 'Huntley or Fitz Baderon,' lords of Monmouth. No proof of the alleged Huntley descent is given, but the author hurries on to the desired conclusion, namely, that the 'ancestor of this house, William Fitz Baderon or Baldran, appears to have been a scion of the lords or princes of Jarnac in Angoumois or Saintonge, probably of Gothic race.' A few lines further on he is definitely made the son of Baudran, 'Prince of Jarnac.' The true origin of the house in a village near Dol has been elsewhere established by me.[1] With 'Trelawny' we return once more to the house of Ballon.

> It is presumed that this family descends from Hamelin de Balaon, baron of Abergavenny, who had vast grants in Cornwall.

To Wynebald, brother of this Hamelin, are assigned three sons, from one of whom the Trelawneys are derived. But the full pedigree of Hameline and Winebald has been worked out by me,[2] and all these three suppositious sons can be clearly proved to be inventions. And Hamelin de Ballon was quite distinct from Hemelin the Domesday under-tenant in Cornwall.

Enough has been said, perhaps, by this time to give the reader a true idea of this misleading book. It is the combination of reckless assertion with perfectly sound criticism that forms its most singular and its most dangerous feature. The criticism, for instance, of the received origin of the Windsor and Fitzgerald families (pp. 62, 63) is absolutely sound; but when we turn hopefully to the author's own version, we start 'about A.D. 660' with 'Aother or Other,' for whom the reference is 'Bouquet x. 342.' We turn to it, only to find that it refers to an 'Otherius' living about A.D. 1000, whom the author makes the second of the name and dates '*circ.* 987.'

[1] *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 121.
[2] Ibid. p. 195.

This Other is made the father of another for whom no reference is given or can be discovered, but of whom we read that he was 'Lord of the Castle of Mortaine, Aquitaine, *circ.* 1030, and had issue Gilbert, Lord of Mortaine (Gallia Christ. ii. 48 Instr.), and Walter Fitz Other' (p. 243). This gives us the following pedigree:

Other
circ. 987

Gilbert
circ. 1030

Walter
Fitz Other
[living after 1100 ![1]]

Wearily we turn to Gallia Christ. ii. 481 (*not* 48) Instr., and there discover Gilbert 'de Mauritania' as witness to a charter, with nothing whatever to connect him either with Other or with Walter. Nor can I connect Other with 'Mortaine, wherever in 'Aquitaine' it was. His land was 'Sacerge,' which was 'finibus Biturigum situm Lemovicinis contiguum' (Bouquet), while Gilbert occurs in a charter of the church of Saintes.

Those who have striven to trace the origin of our great families can hardly write calmly of a book which, while professing to provide pedigrees based on evidence and proof, indulges in utterly baseless statements and 'wild cat' genealogy. Everything is sacrificed to the one determination to find a 'Norman' ancestry. Even the author's criticism on others —'Such theories as these only tend to show the influence which pre-conceived notions are capable of exercising on the strongest minds'—will not explain or excuse the astounding methods he employed in what he was pleased to term his 'unbiassed' inquiry.

J. HORACE ROUND.

[1] See p. 123.

THE HUGUENOT FAMILES IN ENGLAND

I. THE TRYONS

IN the first rank of the Huguenot families settled in England were the Tryons, rich merchants in London, baronets in Essex and great squires in Northamptonshire. Their founder, PIETER TRIOEN, a merchant, was born at Wulverghem in Flanders, and holding the reformed doctrine was so well advised as to remove himself and his family out of the reach of the claws of Inquisitor Titelmann. Coming to London he had letters of denization granted to him 4 Feb. 156$\frac{2}{3}$, as 'Peter Tryoen, from the dominion of the King of Spain.'[1] He was a deacon of the Dutch church in London in 1580, and dwelt in a house called the 'Worm on the Hoop,' in the parish of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, which he bought of Henry Becher, esquire, and William Becher his son. William Camden, Clarencieux, granted him on 1 July, 1610, the arms —*azure une fesse embattellee entre six estoiles de or*, with a crest— *caput ursi nativo colore septem stellulis aureis aspersum.* By an inquest taken after his death 6 Dec. 1611, it was found that he died 29 March, 1611, and that his son and heir Moses was aged 30 years and upwards. He made a will 20 Jan. 160$\frac{8}{9}$, describing himself therein as 'Peter Trioen borne at Wulverghem in Flaunders in the partes beyonde the seas now dwelling in the parishe of Sainct Christofer nere the Stockes in London and free denizen of England.' By it he made his son Moses his heir of all his lands in Flanders and gave him 5,000*l.* He gave to his sons Samuel and John 5,000*l.* each, and to his daughters Mary, wife of Mr. Sebastian Harvey, and Hester, wife of Mr. William Courten, 4,000*l.* each. He gave to his grandson Peter, son of Moses, 300*l.*, with remainder to the rest of Peter's brothers and sisters. He gave to Peter, Mary and Sara, children of David le Maire by testator's late daughter Sara, 4,000*l.* amongst them, with 100*l.* more to Peter, who was his godson. To his god-daughters Sara Trion, daughter of the said Moses, and to Hester Courten, daughter of the said

[1] Pat. Roll 4 Eliz. p. 11 m. 11.

Hester, he gave 100*l.* each. He gave to Anthony Trioen 50*l.* if he should be a bachelor at the testator's death. He gave legacies to the poor of the Dutch and French churches in London, and to the Dutch churches in Norwich, Colchester and Sandwich; to the poor of Rickmansworth and to the poor of St. Christopher's parish. He gave to his sons Samuel and John equally his capital messuage, etc., in St. Christopher's and St. Bartholomew's by the Exchange, his wife Mary dwelling there and taking the rents and profits. The residue of his estate he gave to his wife. He made his wife Mary and his sons Samuel and John his executors, who proved the will 30 March, 1611 [*P.C.C.* 24 *Wood*], after sentence had been promulgated in its favour on 28 March, 1611, following litigation between the exors. and Mary Harvey and Hester Courten [*P.C.C.* 49 *Wood*]. He was buried in the church of St. Christopher 15 April, 1611.

His wife Mary, who was probably a Fleming like himself, died 3 Jan. 161$\frac{8}{9}$, in London, and was buried by her husband in St. Christopher's church 16 Jan. 161$\frac{8}{9}$. She made a will on 25 Sept. 1617, giving to her sons Moses Tryon and Sir Samuel Tryon, knight, 6,000*l.* each, to her daughters Mary, wife of Sir Sebastian Harvey, knight, and Hester, wife of Mr. William Courten, 3,000*l.* each, and to her grandson Peter le Maire 2,000*l.* Her other legatees included her grandchildren Samuel, son of Sir Samuel Tryon; Mary, John and James, children of her son Moses; Mary Harvey and William Courten. She also gave legacies to her cousin Anthony Tryon, who was then married to a wife named Jacomin, to the wife of Lucas Roberts of Sandwich, to Samuel Godscall of Sandwich, and to his two sisters (whereof one, Jacomyn Godscall, had been servant to the testatrix), and to her god-daughters Mary van Golgye, wife of Peter Richolte, a merchant, Mary Vaughan, daughter of Thomas Vaughan, and Mary Hellam, daughter of Jasper Hellam. She gave legacies for mourning to Peter le Maire's sisters Mary Swynnarton and the Lady Baesh. Her son Sir Samuel Tryon, knight, the residuary legatee and exor., proved the will 6 Feb. 161$\frac{8}{9}$ [*P.C.C.* 19 *Parker*].

Of the children of Pieter Tryon and his wife eight sons and four daughters are known:

i. Abraham Trioen *alias* Tryon, who was a merchant of St. Mary Aldermanbury in London. He married at the Dutch church in Austin Friars, 16 Oct. 1599, Leonora

daughter of Adrian Vierendeels, a citizen of Antwerp, who survived him. She married (ii.) Gregory Downehall, a master in Chancery, and (iii.) Sir John Bennet of Uxbridge, knight, whose third wife she was. She died 1638 and was buried in Uxbridge Chapel (M. I.). By an inquest taken after his death 23 July, 1608, it was found that he died 29 Dec. 1607, and that Moses his brother was his next heir and aged 28 years and more. His will dated 25 May, 1605, was proved 7 Jan. 160$\frac{7}{8}$ [*P.C.C.* 7 *Windebanck*] by his brothers Samuel and John Tryon, the executors.

ii. Moyses Tryon of Harringworth, co. Northants, esquire, of whom presently.

iii. John Tryon, who was christened 15 Sep. 1577, at the Dutch church in Austin Friars and died young.

iv. Sir Samuel Tryon of Halstead, co. Essex, baronet [see pedigree of TRYON OF HALSTEAD].

v. John Tryon, christened 19 April, 1584, at the Dutch church. He was an executor of his brother Abraham's will and was buried at St. Christopher's 14 Sep. 1612.

vi. Daniel Tryon was christened 28 Aug. 1586, at the Dutch church and died young.

vii. Daniel Tryon was christened at the Dutch church 8 April, 1588, and died young.

viii. Peter Tryon was christened at the Dutch church 20 May, 1602, and died young.

i. . . . Tryon, a daughter, who was married before 1603 to Levinus Munke, a Dutch merchant in London, by whom she had issue. She probably died before 29 Dec. 1607.

ii. Sarah Tryon, married at the Dutch church 9 Feb. 159$\frac{1}{2}$, to David le Maire of London, son of James le Maire of Tournay. She left issue by him, who survived her.

iii. Mary Tryon, christened at the Dutch church 25 March, 1575. She married (i.) Sir Sebastian Harvey of London, knight, Lord Mayor in 1619, by whom she left one daughter. She married (ii.) Sir Thomas Hinton of Wansborough, co. Wilts, knight, and dying about 1630 was buried at Wansborough. (M. I. *Aubrey's Collections.*)

iv. Esther Tryon was christened at the Dutch church 13 Dec. 1579, and was married there 17 July, 1604, to

Sir William Courten, knight, who was born in London in 1572 and died 27 May, 1636. She was his second wife, his first being Catharina, daughter of Pieter Crommelin, a deaf and dumb girl who was heir to her father's fortune of 60,000*l.* Sir William Courten left issue by both wives.

II. Moyses Tryon of Harringworth, co. Northants, esquire (son of Peter and Mary Tryon) was christened at the Dutch church in Austin Friars 21 Dec. 1572. He was returned as heir of his elder brother Abraham at his death in 1607, and as heir of his father Peter Tryon at his death in 1611. He was high sheriff of Northamptonshire in 21 Jac. I.

His wife was Sarah van der Peele of Sandwich, whom he married at the Austin Friars 3 June, 1600. They had issue four sons and four daughters.

i. Peter Tryon of Bulwick, co. Northants, esquire, of whom presently.

ii. John Tryon, who was christened at the Austin Friars 22 Jan. 160$\frac{7}{8}$, and was buried at St. Christopher le Stocks 27 March, 1632.

iii. James Tryon, who was christened at the Austin Friars 11 Nov. 1610, and died soon after.

iv. James Tryon, who was christened 21 June, 1612, at the Austin Friars. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, 14 Jan. 163$\frac{4}{5}$ (as third son of Moyses Tryon of Harringworth, esquire, being then aged 18 years).

i. Mary Tryon, who was christened 10 Jan. 160$\frac{3}{4}$, at Austin Friars.

ii. Sarah Tryon, who was christened 23 June, 1603, at Austin Friars.

iii. Elizabeth Tryon, who was christened 19 Oct. 1606, at the Austin Friars. She married John Huxley, who was born about 1599, son and heir of George Huxley of Edmonton, esquire, who died 30 April, 1627. (*Funeral certificate at Heralds' College*).

iv. Joan Tryon, christened at Austin Friars 8 May, 1614, and married 20 Nov. 1634, at Allhallows-in-the-Wall, to John Crooke, esquire.

III. Peter Tryon of Bulwick, co. Northants, esquire (son and heir of Moyses Tryon by Sarah his wife) was christened 16 Dec. 1604, at the Dutch church in the Austin Friars. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, 2 May, 1623 (as eldest

son of Moyses Tryon of Harringworth, esquire, aged 18), B.A. 10 Feb. 162⅝. He was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1624. He married Judith Cullen, daughter of Abraham Cullen and sister to Sir Abraham Cullen of Sheen, co. Surrey, baronet. After his death she married for her second husband Thomas Cole of Lisse, co. Hants, esquire, their allegation for marriage licence being dated 23 April, 1662 (*Vicar-General's Office*), she being then of Edmonton and aged about 30, and he aged about 40 and a widower.

Peter Tryon and Judith had issue two sons and two daughters:

i. James Tryon of Bulwick, of whom hereafter.

ii. Samuel Tryon of Collyweston, co. Northants, gent. Born about 1656, being aged about 24 years at the date of the allegation for his marriage licence, when he was described of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. He died 4 Feb. 171½, in his 55th year, and was buried at Harringworth 7 Feb. 171½. He married (i.) Elizabeth Hoste, sister of James Hoste, esquire, and apparently a daughter of Theodorus Hoste of Mortlake, co. Surrey gent. She was born about 1662, being aged about 18 years on 24 Dec. 1680, the date of the allegation for her marriage licence (*Vicar-General's Office*), to which her parents consented. She was buried at Harringworth. 10 May, 1695. He married (ii.) Christian Wenyeve.

He was lord of the manors of Collyweston, co. Northants, and Ketton, co. Rutland. His will was dated 15 Sept. 1711, and proved 1 March, 171½. [*P.C.C.* 60 *Barnes*] by his son John Tryon the exor. He was buried at Harringworth. The will of Christian his widow was dated 27 Feb. 171⅞, she being then of St. James's, Westminster, and was proved 6 June, 1718, by her brothers John Wenyeve and North Wenyeve of the Inner Temple, esquire, two of the exors., power being reserved, etc., to Edward Wenyeve, a third brother and executor. [*P.C.C.* 122 *Tenison.*] She was buried 27 May, 1718, at Harringworth.

By his first wife Samuel Tryon had issue—

1. John Tryon of Collyweston, who was one of the exors. of the will of his cousin Charles Tryon of Bulwick in 1705. His will dated 15 June, 1747, was proved 1 June, 1751

[*P.C.C.* 191 *Busby*] by the relict and extrix. He was buried at Collyweston 14 April, 1751. Sarah his relict was buried at Collyweston 20 Aug. 1771. They had issue—

A. Sarah Tryon, who was christened at Collyweston 16 Apr. 1719. She was a legatee under her father's will but died before him, being buried at Collyweston 7 Jan. $17\frac{49}{50}$.

B. Elizabeth Tryon, who was christened at Collyweston 5 March, $172\frac{6}{7}$. A legatee in her father's will.

C. Susan Tryon, who was buried 1 Jan. $173\frac{5}{6}$, at Harringworth.

2. Samuel Tryon, christened 13 Nov. 1688, at Collyweston, and dead in 1711.

3. Peter Tryon, christened 14 June, 1691, at Collyweston, and dead in 1711.

4. Charles Tryon, christened 14 May, 1693, at Collyweston. Buried at Harringworth 22 Oct. 1713.

1. Jane Tryon, christened 3 July, 1687, at Collyweston, and dead in 1711.

By his second wife Samuel Tryon had issue—

5. George Tryon, who was christened at Collyweston 29 July, 1699, and buried 3 Nov. 1699, at Harringworth.

2. Mary Tryon, buried at Harringworth 21 May, 1699.

3. Anne Tryon, christened at Collyweston 23 Feb. $170\frac{0}{1}$. Called 'Nanny' in her mother's will.

4. Elizabeth Tryon, christened at Collyweston 1 Feb. $170\frac{3}{4}$. Called 'Dedle' in her mother's will.

5. Christian Tryon. Called 'Kitt' in her mother's will.

i. Sarah Tryon, born about 1651 and married to John Savile of Methley Hall, co. York, esquire, who was christened at Methley 11 July, 1644. He bought Thribergh from the Reresbys. Allegation for marriage licence dated 2 June, 1666 [*Faculty Office*], she being then a spinster aged 15 and living at Lisse with her mother, Judith

Cole, who consents. He died 25 Jan. and was buried at Methley 12 Feb. 171⅞, leaving issue by his wife, from whom descend the Saviles, Earls of Mexborough.

ii. Mary Tryon, born about 1650, died 13 Jan. 167⅞. She married (i.) Sir Samuel Jones of Courteenhall, co. Northants, knight, whose first wife was Mary Middleton of Denbigh. He purchased Courteenhall in 1650 and died s.p. The allegation for his licence to marry Mary Tryon was dated 1 June, 1669 [*Faculty Office*], she being then living at Bulwick with her mother, who consents. She married at Greetham, co. Lincoln, 2 Sep. 1674, (ii.) Charles Bertie of Uffington, co. Lincoln (fifth son of Montague Bertie, Earl of Lindsey), who died 22 March, 171⅛, in his 71st year.

IV. James Tryon of Bulwick, co. Northants, esquire (eldest son of Peter and Judith Tryon). He was buried at Harringworth. He married Margaret Stydolfe, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Stydolfe of Norbury in Mickleham, baronet, whose sole heir she became on the death of her sister Frances, wife of Jacob, Lord Astley of Reading [*Chan. pro. before* 1714, *Collins* 196–11]. She died about 1690, having married (ii.) Richard Savage, Earl Rivers, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in England, who was born in 1660 and died 19 Aug. 1712, *s.p.m.s.* The first wife of Earl Rivers was Penelope Downes, daughter of John Downes of Wardley, co. Lanc., whom he married 21 Aug. 1679 at Chiswick. The allegation for licence for his marriage with Margaret Tryon, then of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, widow, is dated 28 Jan. 168⅞ [*Vicar-General*].

James Tryon and Margaret had issue two sons—

i. Charles Tryon of Bulwick, esquire, of whom hereafter.

ii. James Tryon of Norbury Hall in Mickleham, co. Surrey, esquire, born about 1682. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, 11 May, 1699, being then aged 17. He was buried at Harringworth 24 Jan. 172⅝. By his will dated 12 Jan. 172⅝ and proved 29 Jan. 172⅝ [*P.C.C. 19 Richmond*] by Charles Tryon the nephew and exor. he made the said Charles his heir.

V. Charles Tryon of Bulwick, co. Northants, esquire (eldest son of James Tryon and Margaret). He was born about 1678, and dying 7 Nov. 1705 in his 27th year [*Par. reg. of Harringworth*] was buried 11 Nov. 1705 at Harringworth.

His will dated 2 Nov. 1705, with a codicil 3 Nov. 1705, was proved 1 Dec. 1705 [*P.C.C.* 159 *Gee*] by the relict, his uncle Samuel and his brother James Tryon, the exors. He married his cousin Jane Savile, fourth daughter of John Savile and Sarah Tryon, who was christened at Methley 27 Dec. 1675. Allegation for marriage licence dated 21 Feb. 170$\frac{4}{5}$, she being then a spinster and of St. Giles's parish. She was buried 9 June, 1743, at Harringworth. She made a will 30 Aug. 1742, being then of Gretton, co. Northants, a widow, which was proved 6 July, 1743 [*P.C.C.* 246 *Boycott*] by John Tryon of Collyweston, the cousin and exor.

Charles Tryon and Jane had issue an only son, Charles Tryon—

VI. Charles Tryon of Bulwick, co. Northants, and of Norbury Hall, co. Surrey, esquire (only son of Charles Tryon and Jane). He was born 17 Sep. 1702, and matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, 2 Sep. 1717 (as son of Charles of Bulwick, esquire, aged 14). He married at Fulham Chapel 3 July, 1722, the Lady Mary Shirley, daughter of Sir Robert Shirley, knight, first Earl Ferrers. She died 17 May, 1771, and was buried at Twickenham (M. I.), and admon. of her goods was issued 31 May, 1771 [*P.C.C.*] to her son Robert Tryon, clerk.

Charles Tryon and Lady Mary had issue four sons and three daughters:

i. Charles Tryon of Bulwick, esquire, of whom hereafter.

ii. Robert Tryon, clerk in holy orders, rector of Seaton, co. Rutland. Born about 1727. Named as his father's second son in the will of his grandmother Jane Tryon in 1742. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, 13 Dec. 1749 (as son of Charles of Norbury, esquire), then being aged 22. B.C.L. in 1757. He died 27 Jan. 1774, leaving a will dated 26 June, 1771. His widow renounced execution, and administration was granted 17 March, 1774, to a creditor [*P.C.C.* 111 *Bargrave*]. By his wife Rebecca who survived him he had issue—

Charles Tryon, who was buried 28 Nov. 1763 at Harringworth, aged 7 months.

Mary Tryon, to whom her father gave the reversion of his lands after her mother's death.

iii. James Tryon, who was buried 25 Feb. 173$\frac{4}{5}$, at Harringworth.

iv. William Tryon. In many respects he was the most eminent member of his family. He is commemorated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which however follows most works of reference in wrongly tracing his ancestry to Abraham Tryon, the eldest son of Peter the emigrant. The date of his birth is given as 1725, which is also incorrect, as he was younger brother of Robert, whom we know to have been born about 1727. He entered the army and was Captain of the 1st Foot Guards in 1751, and Lieut.-Colonel in 1758. On 26 Dec. 1757 he married at St. George's, Hanover Square, Margaret Wake of Hanover Street, who brought him 30,000*l.* and the interest of Wills Hill, Viscount Hillsborough, first commissioner of trade and plantations, whose kinswoman she is said to have been. Through the good offices of Lord Hillsborough he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina, where he arrived 27 June, 1764. He became Governor 20 July, 1765, on the death of Governor Dobbs. Whilst in office he distinguished himself by building a governor's house with money which he had induced the Assembly to vote for the purpose, and by crushing in 1770 a force of rioters calling themselves the Regulators. He exchanged offices with the Earl of Dunmore, thereby becoming Governor of New York, where he arrived 8 July, 1771. He speculated in land, and visiting the Indian country in 1772, assisted at the settlement of a new district west of the Schenectachy which was called after him Tryon county. On 29 Dec. 1773 the governor's house in Fort George was suddenly destroyed by fire, and the governor and his family escaped with difficulty, his daughter Margaret being dangerously burned. A sum of 5,000*l.* was voted to him in consideration of his losses, and in 1774 he visited England. He returned to find the colony in open rebellion, and for nearly a year his seat of government was a ship lying in the North river. He resigned his governorship in 1778 to take up military employment, and James Robertson succeeded him as the last civil governor of New York. By a despatch from Whitehall, 5 June, 1778, he was given command of the 70th Regt., and was also promoted to be Major-

General 'in America.' His severe reprisals upon the colonists earned him the hatred of the Americans, who declared his lands forfeit and attainted him by Act of Congress 22 Oct. 1779. Ill health and gout took him to England in 1780, and the rank of Lieut.-General was given him 20 Nov. 1782. He died at his house in Upper Grosvenor Street 27 Dec. 1788, and was buried near his mother in Twickenham churchyard. His will dated 21 Nov. 1787 was proved 21 Feb. 1789 [*P.C.C.* 103 *Calvert*] by the relict and extrix. by whom he left issue :

Margaret Tryon who died unmarried 29 July, 1791.

i. Mary Tryon (? christened at Harringworth 23 Oct. 1738), living unmarried at date of her brother William's will in 1787. She died 18 March, 1799, at her apartments in St. James's Palace, having been a maid of honour for 38 years.

ii. Sophia Tryon, wife of Richard Bulstrode of Hounslow, esquire, whom she survived. Born 3 Sept., 1739. Named as his sister Sophia Bulstrode in her brother William's will.

iii. Anne Tryon, living unmarried at date of her brother William's will.

VII. Charles Tryon of Bulwick, co. Northants, esquire (eldest son of Charles Tryon and Lady Mary). He was born about 1724, and matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, 30 June, 1739 (as son of Charles of Westminster, esquire, aged 15). His will dated 29 Aug. 1767, with codicil dated 7 Nov. 1768, was proved 9 Dec. 1768 [*P.C.C.* 468 *Secker*] by Rebecca, the relict and extrix. He married Rebecca (probably daughter of James Bennett of Potton, co. Bedford, by Rebecca his wife), by whom he had two sons born before marriage. He died 28 Nov. 1768, *s.p.l.*

THE TRYONS OF HALSTEAD

II. Sir Samuel Tryon of Boys Hall in Halstead, co. Essex, baronet (fourth son of Pieter Trioen and Mary). He was born in England, and christened 25 March, 1582, at the Dutch church in Austin Friars. He purchased Layer Marney Hall of George Tuke, esquire, and the manor of Halstead of Sir Thomas Gardiner, knight. He rebuilt Boys Hall in Halstead. He was knighted by King James at Newmarket 25 April, 1613,

admitted to Gray's Inn 29 Dec. 1617, and created a baronet 28 March, 1620. He died at Boys Hall 8 March, 162$\frac{8}{7}$, and was buried on the north side of the chancel of Halstead Church. His will dated 14 April, 1626, was proved 26 April, 1627 [*P.C.C.* 42 *Skinner*], by the relict Elizabeth and Sir Henry Yelverton, knight, justice of the Common Pleas, power being reserved, etc., to Sir William Courten, knight, the third exor. By an inquest 19 April, 1627, Samuel his son was found to be his heir. He married Elizabeth Eldred, daughter of John Eldred of London, who married (ii.) Sir Edward Wortley, knight, second son of Sir Richard Wortley of Wortley, co. York, baronet. Sir Samuel Tryon had issue by his wife Elizabeth :

i. Sir Samuel Tryon of Halstead, baronet, of whom presently.

i. Elizabeth Tryon, christened 29 April, 1619, at St. Christopher-le-Stocks, and buried there 2 June, 1620.

III. Sir Samuel Tryon of Halstead (son and heir of Sir Samuel Tryon). He was born in April, 1626, and christened 28 April, 1617, at St. Christopher's. By the inquest after his father's death it was found that he was aged 10 years and 10 months and 24 days at his father's death on 8 March, 162$\frac{6}{7}$. He was in ward to his stepfather Sir Edward Wortley, who married him to Bridget Lee, daughter of Sir Henry Lee of Quarrendon, co. Bucks, baronet, by Eleanor Wortley, sister of the said Sir Edward. He died about 1666 at Halstead. He married (ii.) Susan Harvey, daughter of John Harvey of Newton, co. Suffolk, gent., who survived him, and married (ii.) Timothy Thornbury of London, gent. She died 'in Michaelmas after the great frost.' Her father was a deponent on 11 Sep. 1666, during a suit in Chancery brought against her by her stepson Sir Samuel [*Chan. depns. Collins* 189, 17]. Sir Samuel Tryon had issue by Bridget Lee a son and a daughter :

i. Sir Samuel Tryon of Halstead, third baronet, who died unmarried about 1671.

i. Eleanor Tryon, born about 1673. She carried the Essex estates out of the family of Tryon, being married at St. James', Clerkenwell, 30 April, 1661, to Sir Richard Franklyn of Moor Park, co. Herts, who had been created a baronet 16 Oct. 1660. Allegation for marriage licence dated 20 April, 1661 [*Vicar-General*], she being

then of Halstead, a spinster, aged about 18. Sir Richard had married (i.) Elizabeth Cheke, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Cheke of Pyrgo, co. Essex, knight. He was born about 1636 and died in 1685, having sold Boys Hall to Sir Josiah Child, bart. He left issue by both wives.

Sir Samuel Tryon had issue by Susan Harvey five sons and a daughter.

iii. Samuel John Tryon, who died young.

iv. Sir Samuel John Tryon, who succeeded his half-brother Samuel as fourth and last baronet. He would seem to have lived in poor circumstances, and died 24 April, 1724, leaving by his wife, Mary Bownds, daughter of Robert Bownds of Chelmsford, draper, two daughters and co-heirs :

1. Mary Tryon, daughter and co-heir, who married Thomas Davy of Shipdam, co. Norfolk, gent.
2. Susan Tryon, daughter and co-heir.

v. John Tryon, who died young.

vi. Moses Tryon, who died young.

vii. Moses Tryon, who died young.

ii. Anne Tryon, who died young.

TRYON OF NORWICH AND LONDON

Francis Trioen, who may have been a kinsman of Pieter Trioen of St. Christopher's, was a woolcomber at Norwich and a member of the Dutch Church there. He arrived in England from Flanders in 1564, and founded a family from which descended Francis Tryon of London, a rich merchant, who died in 1666, one of whose descendants, Rowland Tryon, a West India merchant, purchased Frognal in Chiselhurst. His nephew Thomas Tryon, also a West India merchant, who died in 1747, would seem to have been the last male descendant of this family of Tryon.

WHAT IS BELIEVED

Under this heading The Ancestor *will call the attention of press and public to much curious lore concerning genealogy, heraldry and the like with which our magazines, our reviews and newspapers from time to time delight us. It is a sign of awakening interest in such matters that the subjects with which* The Ancestor *sets itself to deal are becoming less and less the sealed garden of a few workers. But upon what strange food the growing appetite for popular archæology must feed will be shown in the columns before us. Our press, the best-informed and the most widely sympathetic in the world, which watches its record of science, art and literature with a jealous eye, still permits itself, in this little corner of things, to be victimized by the most recklessly furnished information, and it would seem that no story is too wildly improbable to find the widest currency. It is no criticism for attacking's sake that we shall offer, and we have but to beg the distinguished journals from which we shall draw our texts for comment to take in good part what is offered in good faith and good humour.*

•

DR. F. J. FURNIVALL calls our attention to his letter to the *Academy* concerning the pedigree of Robert Browning, which, with characteristic industry, he has tracked backward through two clerks in the Bank of England and a village publican to one Robert Browning, footman and butler to Sir John Bankes of Corfe Castle, who must for the present be regarded as the founder of the family. It would appear that certain unworthy members of the Browningist faith boggle at this origin of the object of their cult, and Dr. Furnivall charges Mr. Edmund Gosse in particular with something more than reluctance to accept Dr. Furnivall's 'favourite Browning ancestor.' Whilst availing himself of Dr. Furnivall's genealogical researches, Mr. Gosse deliberately suppresses Browning I., and in his article on the poet in the supplement to the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that 'the stock has been traced no further back than to the early part of the eighteenth

century, when the poet's natural great-grandfather owned the Woodgates Inn in the parish of Partridge in Dorset.'

* * *

Dr. Furnivall falls upon the quoted sentence even as Mr. Horace Round would fall upon a misdescription of a Domesday tenant. Robert the First was not 'owner' of the inn—being but a lessee thereof. The inn was the Woodyates—not the 'Woodgates' inn. For 'Partridge' read Pentridge near Salisbury. And Robert shall have a father, maugre Mr. Gosse, and that father shall stand behind Sir John Bankes's chair, Dr. Furnivall's 'favourite Browning ancestor.'

* * *

The genealogist may be allowed to sympathise with Dr. Furnivall. A family can delimit its pedigree with any ancestor which it may select, beginning its history if it will with its most honoured forefather and ignoring at taste the rock from which he was hewed. But a chronicler in the place of Mr. Edmund Gosse is surely allowing such reticence to carry him to the edge of mis-statement when he denies that the source which gave him his two clerks and his innkeeper will yield any other ancestral figure.

* * *

To the first bank-clerk Dr. Furnivall assigns the purchase from a heraldic seal engraver of the 'sham coat of arms' which in after years, on the sleeves of the poet's Venetian gondoliers, was to make the poet's Venetian equipage splendidly ridiculous. For his own share in the innocent vanity the poet will be excused by the custom of his tribe. Many a poet has looked uneasily over his shoulder and felt that his picture needed the glowing patch of an ancestral escutcheon in the shadows of the background. The great Hugo, demanding an atmosphere for the greatest Frenchman, did not stay at setting up an escutcheon with a peer's coronet set above it, but went on to ennoble a line of mythical heroes, who were to supply a more seemly origin for a Hugo than the humble one which the unimaginative registrars of his native place were prepared to certify to him. The casual purchase from a broker of six ancient chairs in faded velvet would so inspire him that within a few weeks of the bargain the chairs would become age-honoured heirlooms of the house of Hugo; and, at the last, red silk cords would be drawn across the arms that no one

might by carelessly sitting down profane cushions which had become as full of Hugo family legends as of clothes moths.

* * *

In a more reserved and English fashion the late Lord Tennyson recognized the same need. The fact that some industrious person had traced out for him that 'royal descent' in the female line from the house of Anjou, of which most middle-class Englishmen may boast, was allowed to justify the recurrent newspaper paragraph which described the Laureate as sprung from ancient kings through a line as many-scutcheoned as that of his own Sir Aylmer Aylmer, and we cannot believe that these paragraphs were unwelcome to the poet. The story of Lord Tennyson's coat of arms is as simple as that which decorated the Browning gondoliers. His line could be traced with certainty about as far as the line of Browning—to the father of an eighteenth century Lincolnshire apothecary. Official heraldry provided for him a slightly differenced cadets version of the arms used by Archbishop Tenison, with whom the poet's family were not allied in any known degree. The arms of the archbishop himself had been sought further afield, for it is evident that as the stock armories yielded no blazon for any one of the name, Tenison was translated into 'the son of Denis,' which has a basis of philological fact, and the archbishop was therefore heraldically affiliated to the family of Denys, Gloucestershire knights under Henry VIII., for which most impudent grafting neither philology nor genealogy can find the least excuse.

* * *

Many a genealogist was to be puzzled by the ancestry which an earlier poet, Edmund Spenser, chose out for himself in the charming lines of the Epithalamium. That pushful house of shepherd kings, the Spencers of Badby, were coming to the peerage, and to their name the heralds were tacking a brand new and more than doubtful pedigree from the Despensers, Earls of Gloucester. 'A house of ancient fame,' quoth the poet—and not unmindful perhaps that he was a place-hunter and courtier as well as poet, Master Edmund Spenser dismissed his own ancestry of small Lancashire gentry and planted himself modestly in the shadow of the newly-discovered shield of arms of that house 'of which I meanest boast myself to be.'

Much after all may be forgiven to the temperament of the poet; but what shall we say to the satirists and to the rebukers of our follies whom the like birdlime catches. Mark how the wise French lord, Michel d'Yquem, Seigneur de Montaigne, flavours his allusions to his own house until his dazzled readers conceive that the wise lord's ancestors were concerned but with polite letters and the administration of the high and the low justice. The respectable wine merchants are transfigured in the imagination of their descendants. 'False pride of name and birth' showed its head but shyly when Mr. Charles Dickens and Mr. Thomas Carlyle, the one with switch and the other with club, were beating the hedges for it and its sister vanities. Yet nevertheless each of these policemen of manners had books at home with book-plates inside the covers, and on those book-plates the crests of ancient families of their respective names whom they had adopted for ancestors by the simple exercise of choice.

* * *

The fable of the London arms still shows the unconquerable liveliness of the antiquarian myth. Wat Tyler spurs up to his king in the plain of Smithfield, and Sir William Walworth, burning before his monarch's eye to show that the city has a loyalty as active before dinner as enthusiastic after it, draws dagger upon the prancing radical. Wherefore King Richard grants to his loyal city of London a red dagger in its shield of arms in memory of Walworth's deed. For such pretty chickens of legend the modern antiquary has no mercy. He is unwearied in pointing out that the arms with the dagger appear upon a City seal of earlier date than the Smithfield stabbing, and moreover that the dagger is no dagger, but the sword of St. Paul, patron of London City, set beside the red cross of St. George, patron of England. There are those who have urged these novel heresies even as they sat before the City's tablecloth, but for such the turtle has died in vain and the City will have none of them.

After luncheon the loving cup was circulated in accordance with the time-honoured City custom, and the Lord Mayor rose to propose the toast of 'the King.' In doing so he said that the City of London carried on its coat of arms the dagger—a perpetual reminder that the foes of the King and those who disseminate disloyal and treasonable notions would find sworn enemies among a race of men trained for centuries to 'Fear God and honour the King.' (Cheers.)

Before this loyal eloquence carping facts are in full flight. The City dagger remains up the City's furred sleeve in case another Tyler lurk in Spring Gardens, and St. Paul may present his sword hilt to good Sir William Walworth with what grace he may.

From an evening newspaper we draw this romaunt of a baronet :—

> THE RED HAND.—There was a stern justice, however, in the manner in which the early baronetage was regulated. Two hundred years ago Sir Thomas Holt murdered his cook in a cellar, and for generations his descendants were compelled to represent a murderer's hand in their armorial coat. The red hand is said to be still seen clearly in a painted window in Aston Church, near Birmingham, but it disappeared from the coat of the Holts before the title became extinct. One by one the Holt baronets secured leave to take away a finger from the hand, and slowly, in this way, the mark of murder passed.

Surely a legend with the very peach-bloom of misapprehension upon it, a legend to be handled as gently as Isaac Walton's worm. Five fingers to the hand if we reckon the thumb, five generations before the hand becomes fingerless. Add a generation to efface the maimed palm and wrist and six generations pass. At three generations to a century we have arrived at our own Edwardian days, and it must be but yesterday that a contemporary Holt has 'secured leave' to wipe from his shield the last remembrance of the murdered cook. It says little for our paragraphing journalists that this authorization, which must have seen the light in the *Gazette* or at the least in the second column of the *Times*, has escaped their observation. To a genealogist the fact that the line of Holt baronets became extinct in 1782 would add a new difficulty, and that this family should be singled out for reprobation seems a harsh thing when it is considered that all baronets of Ulster and of the United Kingdom bear the bloody hand in their shields, the same stain of blood and gravy blotting, as we may imagine, a page in each family history.

Municipal authorities have been bitten of late with a taste for heraldry, and appear, from certain recent grants, to rejoice in a kind of 'jumble' coat, which doubtless suggests to the grantees a great deal for their money. But at times it takes a higher flight, as, for instance, at Kingston-on-Thames, where

we read that the mayor has just presented to the town hall a stained glass window

which represents the arms of his present Majesty in the centre, underneath are those of Edward the Elder, and surrounding them those of the six other Saxon kings, Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwyn, Edward the Martyr and Ethelred, who were also crowned at Kingston, and the arms of the borough, three fishes on a ground azure. The window is of the heraldic, and not the usual ecclesiastical type, for though the Saxons knew not heraldry as we knew it, arms were granted (*sic*) to these sovereigns in the reign of Henry III. and enrolled at Heralds' College.

The fashionable morning paper from which we glean this information does not explain upon what ground it thinks 'ecclesiastical' windows 'usual' in a secular building, or who 'granted' to these English sovereigns this armorial canonization after they had lingered for ages in a non-armigerous limbo, or how these grants were 'enrolled at Heralds' College' more than two centuries before that institution existed. It is true that the Saxons knew not heraldry 'as we know it'; nor, we are thankful to add, did 'the reign of Henry III.'

* * *

We read recently that certain ladies of the diocese of St. Albans had presented its cathedral church with a mace bearing at one end the arms of the Dean and at the other those of King Offa, founder of the famous abbey. Let us hope that the kind donors have duly ascertained that the latter are 'registered' at the College of Arms, or there may be trouble in store. It would be a shock to learn that Offa was not an 'armigerous person.' The borough of Colchester, in the adjoining county, has set an excellent example by ascertaining the 'Arms of King Coel of Colchester, as recorded at Heralds' College, London.' The *brochure* from which we take the phrase contains also an illustration of the arms of 'Guiderius' (a forefather, apparently, of Coel) 'as supplied by the Heralds' College.' The word 'supplied' is good.

* * *

Colchester, however, seems to be unfortunate with its heraldry. The 'raven' which appears on the gates of its new Town Hall, side by side with the borough arms, and which peers down upon the High Street from the summit of the hall's tower, attracted the attention of Lord Rosebery when he lately opened the building. It was 'Danish,' of course, he naturally suggested, only to be interrupted by the Mayor with

the information that it represented 'the arms of the portreeve.' This curious local delusion appears to rest on an ancient seal, of distinctly non-armorial character, which bears the device of a bird, and of which the owner, whoever he was, was certainly not 'portreeve,' an officer whose name is not to be found in any of the local records. For this freak of municipal heraldry the best that can be said is that it is free from that ingenious combination with advertisement seen in the 'arms' of Southend displayed within the same building, of which one of the watertight compartments is a view of Southend pier!

* * *

It has been a matter of remark that during this second quarter of the year matter calling for comment under our heading of 'What is Believed' has grown rarer. Even the genealogical and heraldic notes of the evening paper and of the illustrated weekly appear strangely cautious and restrained. If this be the result of a single issue of *The Ancestor*, we can but chronicle the fact with meek satisfaction.

* * *

The journal which was last to afford its readers the spectacle of the spreading family tree of the house of Denbigh, with 'Geoffrey, Earl of Hapsburgh,' for a founder, has again unrolled the pedigree *apropos* of Lord Denbigh's mission to Rome, only to assail it with mocking doubt.

* * *

Not long since a journal taught its readers that Lord Pauncefote, the descendant of a long Norman line of Pauncefotes, derived his name from 'his crest,' which was '*pensez fort.*' The same column has told us since Lord Pauncefote's lamented death that Pauncefote is 'certainly not a corruption of "*pensez fort*,"' which saying is now styled the 'family motto,' and spoken of as 'a good example of canting heraldry.' It has been borne in upon few of our journalists that Pauncefote conceals one of the many cadets of the powerful house of Smith of No. 1 Lombard Street, even as do Bromley and Carington and Dorien and the like. Pauncefote in this case indicates as little Norman ancestry as Lytton, for our ambassador to the United States did but assume under a will a name which for itself may claim Norman descent from one of those unpleasant epithet names with which our Norman forefathers delighted to miscall one another,

Pauncefote equalling Pauncevolte, which is in good English 'paunch face.'

* * *

A hero of the Mutiny days in India passed away with Mr. Herewald Wake, the civilian defender of Arrah. Here at least our genealogically inclined journalist would strain at the bit, and for the hundredth occasion the long descended house of Wake was hailed as from the stock of 'Hereward the Wake, last of the English.' Since they gave their own surname of Wake to this half-mythical champion, Hereward may be said to spring in some sort from the house of Wake, but the descent of the house of Wake from Hereward is a less assured matter.

* * *

Lord Kimberley's death brought the Kimberley legend from the lumber room of such things. An illustrated weekly and a great morning newspaper shall afford us our texts :—

Lord Kimberley represents a family which is not only ancient but distinguished. The Wodehouses bear the motto 'Agincourt' under their coat armour for the personal valour of an ancestor in that field. He was granted, though a commoner, not only the motto, crest and arms, as now used, but supporters. His grandson had the unique distinction of being fined for refusing the honour of knighthood. The dislike was evidently not hereditary, for his son, grandson and great-grandson were knights.

And again :—

One of his ancestors was knighted by Henry I., and another so distinguished himself at the battle of Agincourt that Henry V., as a reward for his valour, allowed him to use the name of the battlefield as one of his mottoes, and it is borne on the arms of the family to this day.

* * *

Now Wodehouse is a Norfolk family, and therefore one may turn to Mr. Walter Rye for the declaring of the truth. The Agincourt legend goes down at once before his statement that John Wodehouse, the ancestor in question, does not appear amongst those who fought on Crispin Crispian's day. He was serving his country like a true man no doubt, but Mr. Rye is of opinion that it was in the more peaceful fields of his native Norfolk, where he was inspecting the coast defences. If our national interest in armory were not bounded by the 'handbooks of heraldry,' the story of the crest, the supporters and the motto would scarcely pass muster. Supporters in the days of Agincourt were little more than ornament wherewith to fill in the spaces beside the shield in a round

seal. Commoners used them freely, and no idea of rank was symbolized in them. The idea of a king setting forth a 'motto' to be used by a knight and his descendants is strange in our ears. Such a matter as the 'word' or 'reason' of a knight was not one with which our kings would meddle. The 'motto' was but rarely used, and was often a word or sentence with no meaning for any one but its user. The tale that a king devised and prescribed it is as though 'Old Grouse in the Gunroom' were presented to us as an old family after-dinner anecdote, the telling of which had been secured to and settled upon an ancestor of Squire Hardcastle's by King John at Runnymede.

* * *

Can aught of valid comment be made upon the Wodehouse ancestor with the *farouche* dislike of the honour of knighthood? First of all let us say that a study of the *Landed Gentry* will reveal many such ancestors, whose shy refusal of the title is a matter of modest pride with many of their descendants. From the *Landed Gentry* our studies might be extended to some elementary manual of English history, and Macaulay's school-boy might reasonably be asked for the reasons why the Wodehouse ancestor with a thousand other ancestors regarded knighthood as something other than a distinction to be competed for with feverish chivalry.

* * *

The king's bookplates for the Windsor library have been on view in London shop windows. To say that they show from the point of view of artist or antiquary better work than any earlier book-plates of our princes is as true as it would be to add that their mediocrity is disappointing. It is to be presumed that the designer is responsible for the Wardour Street latinity of one of the inscriptions, which runs, we believe, 'ex bibliotheca regia in *castel* de Windesore.'

* * *

A long pedigree made its appearance in court during the *Rock* libel case, when Father Vaughan, a member of the Society of Jesus, declared under oath that his family had for a thousand years 'lived here, true to their king and country.' It is evident that a pedigree which has puzzled many a genealogist has no difficulties for Father Vaughan. The *Landed Gentry* begins its account of Vaughan of Courtfield with Thomas ap

Gwillim of Perthyr, fourth son of William ap Jenkin *alias* Herbert (here wrongly styled Lord of Gwarindee), and husband of Maud, daughter (here wrongly styled co-heir) of Sir John Morley, knight. The senior line of Herbert of Llanarth carries the family back to 'Herbert, Count of Vermandois,' a companion of the Conqueror, and this upon the slender authority of 'the family pedigree.' Even if we disregard the claims of another family pedigree which would trace the house from Herbert, a noble lord, natural son to Henry I., and accept Herbert the Count, we are yet a long way from our thousand years of loyally disposed Herberts or Vaughans. But Herbert the Count and Herbert the king's son may be set aside until the fact has been faced that the pedigree rests in the main upon the evidence of a commission appointed by King Edward IV. to enquire into the origin of the family, which commission has been shown to be a forgery of the time of King Edward VI. It would appear that no authentic ancestor has been found for the family beyond one Jenkyn, who was master serjeant of the lordship of Abergavenny and lived under Edward III. and Richard II. Jenkyn, it is hazarded, was 'the son of Adam,' but so was Matthew Prior, and so indeed were we all until a painstaking genealogist named Darwin threw doubt upon our family tree.

FAMILY HISTORY. FROM PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

OUR present selection of notes from the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* is taken from Appendix VI. to the Tenth Report, the contents of which are of special authority as being the work of the present Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

J. H. R.

Nevill Family Notes

A thick volume, quarto, in old binding, not lettered. It contains . . . Memorandum of the birth of Thomas Nevill of Mereworth, fifth son of Sir George Nevill, Lord Burgavenny, and the Lady Margaret his wife, at Birling, co. Kent, March 1, 1482[-3]. Memorandum of the birth of Margaret Nevill, daughter of Thomas Nevill, knight, and the Lady Katharine Fitz-Hugh his wife, at Mereworth, September 26, 1520, and that her godfather was the Abbot of Boxley, and her godmothers, the Abbess of Mallyng and the Lady Wyett, and that her godmother before the Bishop was the Lady Margaret, wife of Sir John Heron of Hakeney, Treasurer of Kings Henry VII. and Henry VIII. Memorandum of the death of Margaret, wife of John Bramswy, of London, May 5, 1556. (p. 1)

Fitzours Family, etc.[1]

Grant by John Alford of Williton, clerk, to Sir Ralph le Fizours, knight, lord of Williton, Sir Robert le Fizours, brother of the said Sir Ralph, Annora daughter of Sir John de Memburi, knight, Sir John de Pouldoune, chaplain, Ralph Darderne, John Ylebrouwere, and Hawis daughter of the said Sir Ralph [le Fizours], of a tenement, etc., at Williton. 9 Edw. III.

Grant by Ralph le Fizours and Matilda his wife to Hugh de Durbugh and Hawis le Fizours their eldest daughter and to the heirs of their bodies, of land, etc., at Withycombe and Carhampton. 18 Edw. III.

Release of the same by Matilda, relict of Ralph le Fizourz, knight.

Grant by Ralph le Fizours, knight, lord of Williton, to Sir John de Durburgh, knight, Hugh son of the said John, and Hawis wife of the

[1] These are only a selection.

said Hugh, James son of the said Hugh, and William Dygon, of land, etc., in his borough of Watchet. 23 Edw. III.

Grant by Geoffrey Loni, vicar of St. Decuman's, and John Ilond, to John Fizours and Joan his wife, in tail, of land between the two roads that lead from Watchet to Williton, with remainder to the commonalty of the borough of Watchet, for the sustenance of a chaplain celebrating in the chapel of the Holy Cross at Watchet, who in all his masses shall pray for the souls of William Fizours and Lucy his wife, John Fizours and Joan his wife and Annora and Joan their daughters, John de Trebourghe, Adam de Trebourghe and Cristina his wife, Ralph Fizours and William his son, Richard Fygere and Joan his wife, and all faithful departed. 43 Edw. III.

Confirmation by Hugh de Durburgh, son and heir of John de Durburgh, knight, deceased, of a demise by his said father to Thomas atte Pole and Sabina his wife, and Elizabeth their daughter, of a tenement, etc., at Stogumber (Stokegomere). 33 Edw. III. (p. 74)

Agreement between Hugh Durburgh, knight, and Robert Cheddre of Bristol, that James, son and heir of the said Hugh, shall take to wife Alice daughter of John Bathe, late burgess of Bristol, before Michaelmas next. Hugh undertakes to settle rents to the yearly value of 40*l.* out of his manors of Magor, near Chepstow, and Withycombe. Robert Cheddre undertakes to pay 350 marks to Hugh Durburgh, and 50 marks to James Durburgh for the chamber and apparel of his wife. Sept. 2, 3 Richard II. [1379].

Grant by James Durburgh and Alice his wife to Robert Pyppyng, Cristina his wife, and John their son, of a cottage at Witheycombe. 11 Ric. II.

Release by James Durburgh to Ralph Durburgh, his brother, of all his right in all the lands, etc., at Carhampton (Karampton) which Hugh Durburgh ever held. 10 Ric. II. Heraldic seal attached.

Agreement between Ralph Durburgh, esquire, and Alexander Anne and Alice his wife, relict of John Durburgh, concerning parts of the manors of Withycombe, Williton, Batheneston, Watchet, and Almsworthy, co. Somerset, and Magor, co. Gloucester, after an award by William Kynwoldesmersshe, Treasurer of England, and William Wenard, apprentice of the law. Feb. 13, 9 Henry V. [1422]. (p. 75)

Agreement between John Courteney, esquire, and Joan his wife, and Edward Grevyle, for a marriage between the said Edward and Isabel daughter and heir of the said John and Joan. July 8, 10 Henry VI. [1432]. (p. 75)

Hadley Family

Letter of attorney of Thomas Kyngeston, for delivery of seisin of lands, etc., at Williton and Watchet, to Alexander Hadley and Alice

his wife, with remainder to John Hadley their son and heir apparent. 2 Edw. IV.

Release by Elizabeth Hadley, gentlewoman, daughter of John Hadley, esquire, deceased, to Richard Hadley, her brother, of all her right in the manor of Withycombe. 7 Henry VIII. Seal attached.

Agreement between Christopher Mathew of the county of Glamorgan and of Morgannock in South Wales, esquire, and Richard Hadley of Withycombe, esquire, for a marriage between James Hadley, son and heir apparent of the said Richard, and Frideswide, daughter of the said Christopher. Feb. 26, 8 Henry VIII. [1517].

Release by John Hadley, son of John Hadley, esquire deceased, to James Hadley, of all his right to land, etc., at Withycombe, under the will of his father. 17 Henry VIII.

Indented will of James Hadley of Withycombe, esquire, dated December 13, 19 Henry VIII. He makes mention of his mother Phelippa, his uncle John, his wife Elena, his eldest son James, and his other children Christopher, Richard, John, Alice, and Catharine, some of whom were the children of the said Elena, and some of a former wife.

Inquisition taken on the death of James Hadley, esquire, Oct. 6, 31 Henry VIII. [1539]. Christopher his eldest son is twenty-two years of age and more. (p. 76)

Everard Family

Grant by Simon Everard to William Everard his younger brother, of all his rents, services, etc., at Williton, in tail, with remainder to the grantor in tail, and to his brother Robert Everard in tail. 49 Edw. III.

Probate copy of the will of John Everard dated August 6, 1494. He desires to be buried in the parochial church of Carhampton, and he bequeaths a cow towards the fabric of the new seats in the said church. He appoints his wife Isabel to be his executing and residuary legatee, and John Hadley gentleman to be the overseer of his will. (p. 76)

John Pym's Note-book

A.D. 1608. I was much importuned to marry my Lady Garrardes daughter of Dorney by Windser, Mrs. Martha Garrard, a fine gentlewomen truly. I sawe her and no more.

A.D. 1609. I was importuned to see a brave spirited gentlewomen named Mrs. Kate Howarde, beinge one of the two daughters and heyres of the Viscount Bindon's brother. I saw her not far from Bath, was earnestly sollicited to proceede; being halfe afraid of the greatnes of her spirit, I did not. Shee was since more worthily bestowed, and she was most worthy so to be.

A.D. 1610. My Lorde Wharton's eldest sonne and Sir [James] Stewarte killed each other by Islington by London. Mr. George Carewe a friend and an old acquaintance of mine was killed by one Mr. Deane at Thistleworth (Isleworth).

A.D. 1611. . . . Sir John Spencer the Alderman died. My Lord Compton havinge maryed his only daughter oppressed with the greatnes of his sudaine fortunes fell madde. The Erle of Suffolke havinge begd the keeping of him would have seized upon his money and jewelles at Islington; my Lord Compton's mother the Countesse of Dorset playinge the valiant virago, withstood him, and he was therby defeated; my Lorde Compton, being kept in the towre a little while, recovered. The Erle of Suffolk marryed in one day three daughters, the elder to the Lord Knowles, another to the Erle of Essex, the third to the yonge Erle of Salisburye. These t[w]o last to be referred to the year 1609. (p. 83)

I was credibly informed by his stewarde Mr. P. that my Lorde Compton at the first comminge to his great estate after the death of Sir John Spencer did within lesse than 8 weekes spende 72,000*l.*, most in great horses, rich saddles, and playe.

A.D. 1614. Sir Edwarde Sackvill brother to the Erle of Dorset killed the Lorde Bruse beyond the seas in single fight. The Erle of Montgomery was lasht with a riding rod by one Mr. Ramsey a Scotchman, but I think twas taken up by the King, and the Erle well rewarded by the King for his patience. The Ladye Honoria daughter and heyre of the Lord Denny and wife to the Lord Hayes (*sic*), cominge in her coache out of the towne somewhat late either from a masque or from supper about Ludgate Hill had a very rich jewell pulled violently from hir forehead by a fellowe, who was presently taken, and although shee was an earnest suiter to the Kinge for him, was hanged for it in Fleet Streete; shee beinge great with childe and by reason of the sodaine fright miscarying dyed about a weeke after. (p. 84)

The Lord Clyfton having maryed his daughter to the Viscount D'Aubigny, since Earl of Marche, who was at lawe with him for his landes, and being put into [the] Fleete, did or would have cut his own throate. Yong Sir Thomas Sherley being in the Fleete for debte attempted to poyson himselfe.

[A.D. 1616] The Lorde Boyle made a Baron, who (they say) not above sixteene years afore, being a poore fellowe and in prison at Monster in Ireland, borrowed sixpence, and now hath a great estate 12,000*l.* yeerly of Irish land.[1]

[1] This is a malicious exaggeration of Lord Boyle's humble start.

Mr. Palmer sent a challenge to the Erle of Sussex by Mr. Manwaringe and L. Huntley and others being with him upon St. George's daye as he was going to the tilte yearde; he received it; the busines was hearde before the Councell and there argued by the haroldes, and agreed upon that a gentleman of three descents might challenge an Erle and he was bound upon point of honour to answere him, but because this was done upon St. George's daye when the Erle was as it were a companion to the Kinge, therefor Mr. Palmer was put into the towre, and I think fined 300*l.* (pp. 84–5.)

1633, October 28. Island of Providence.—William Rudyerd, William Rons, Roger Floyde and John Brigham, to [John Pym?]. We do not find here the largeness that was reported. At the arrival of the Seaflower, the country was furnished with an overplus of provisions for the number of persons here. In October following, the new-comers had a crop of corn. In that month eighty more came from Bermuda, who had been dissuaded by the seamen from bringing provisions. Although they had felled a great quantity of ground by the end of November, and planted it with corn, the dry season came on so fast that little of it came to good. These Bermudans (Baremoodians) had little help of the provision of store which was spent in the fruitless work of Warwick Fort. Thus many have endured great hardness. The island is full of hills and not so fertile as was reported. At New Westminster, and where Captn. Axe lives, the ground has this year twice failed in corn. This allotment of two acres a head will no more than find food, etc., etc. (p. 85)

Hales Correspondence

1685[–6], January 9. [London.]—William Longueville to Thomas Hales. The Earl of Northampton is at the Countess of Conway's, and like to be married to that very rich, hunting lady. The Earl of Nottingham has been above a week married to Lord Hatton's only daughter.

1685–6, February 4. [London.]—William Longueville to Thomas Hales. There has been too much bloodshed here. You will hear of duels—the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Talbot, Vario's (Verrio's) son and another, Mr. Henry Wharton and a Lieutenant. The Earl of Northampton has at last given over Lady Conway, and come to town. Heraldic seal.

1685–6, February 23. [London.]—William Longueville to Thomas Hales. One of the first obligations I had to your Lord [Clarendon's] family was by reason of your grandfather's patent of baronetcy which was stopped. My father and I applied to Lord Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor, and I had five hundred broad pieces to present to him on the occasion, but the good old Lord told us that

he would oblige us, and never had a penny. It is expected that all the baronets of the late King's time will be brought by Exchequer process to pay and plead the discharge of 1,000*l.* recited to be paid in the usual patents of baronet. Some quietuses or discharges will not be allowed. Sir Thomas Osborne and Sir William Temple have applied to the Lord Treasurer, and have gained stop of this process against themselves. The King will ease those who have family merit or personal merit. I have sent for your father that we may resolve what to do 'under this rod.' You must show all diligence for the Lord Lieutenant, 'his talent being in his over-measure diligence.' There has been duelling about Lord Northampton's match or no-match. If either of the wounded who are in danger—Mr. Conyers or Mr. Seymour—happen to die, the King will let the law run with severity against all the six concerned.[1] Heraldic seal.

1686, May 8. [London.]—William Longueville to Thomas Hales. Books instruct and 'gentilize a man.' The Earl of Northampton is to marry Sir Stephen Fox's daughter to-morrow. (p. 97)

Burley Family

Confirmation by Walter, son of Hugh de Burley, to Christiana his sister, of a messuage in the vill of Kington, in the fee of Claverdon. (13th century.)

Grant by Hugh de Burley, son of William de Burley, to the church of St. Mary of Bordesley, and the monks thereof, of the homage and service of Juliana, niece of his wife, and a yearly rent of 1*d.* Seal attached.

Release by Nicholas, son of William de Burley, to the Abbot and monks of Bordesley, of the land which he held of them at Claverdon, adjoining the land of Hugh, son of William de Burley. (p. 100)

Release by William, son of John de Burley, to the church of St. Peter of Wotton [Wawen], and the monks thereof, of all his right in the land at Claverdon which they had of the gift of his uncle, Hugh de Burley, and his grandfather, William de Burley. Witnesses :—Walter de Wolverton (Wlvardinton), and eight others named. Fragment of heraldic seal attached.

Confirmation by Walter, son of Hugh de Burley, of the grants of his father to the Abbot and Convent of Conches and the Prior of Wotton [Wawen]. (p. 101)

Miscellaneous

Demise by John de Dufford, knight, to Matilda daughter and heiress of John de Shrewley (Schreveleye), of all the lands, etc., which Helisencia, relict of John de Shrewley, held in dower. 35 Edw. I.

[1] It was then the fashion for the seconds to engage as well as the principals.

Release by Matilda de Culi, widow, to William de Fililed, son of Roger de Fililod, and Nicholas his brother and heir, of a rent in Shrewley, Hatton, and Rowington. 30 Edw. III.

Grant by Michael son of Robert de Wolverton (Wolwardington) to William son of Richard Geri of Bearley (Burleg), in free marriage with Florence his daughter, of the service and homage of Simon de la Hulle of Wolverton (Wolwardington). Witnesses:—Sir Elias Giffard, Gilbert his brother, Sir Robert de Clopton, Sir Peter [de Wolwardington], knights, and three others named. (p. 102)

Bristol Deed

Grant by Elizabeth Vyell, daughter and heiress of Henry Vyell, late burgess of Bristol, to John Sutton, her cousin, son and heir of Henry Sutton, son of Thomas Sutton, burgess of Bristol, of her late father's lands in the counties of Northampton and Leicester, viz., at Swinford, Yelvertoft, Iseham, and Welton, mentioning her mother Agnes, wife of Thomas Burford. 22 Ric. II. Two seals, one that of the Town of Bristol. (p. 106)

Little Oakley (Northants) Deeds

Grant by William Argent, by consent of Sara, his daughter and heiress, to Alice daughter of Agnes his wife, of a messuage in his court (curia) in Oakley (Ocle) adjoining the house which the monks of Pipewell hold of him. Witnesses:—Seyr the parson of Childle, William de St. Maur, Alberic de Ocle, and four others named. Seal.

Grant by John de Houby to Robert de Oseville, of a fourth part of the manor of Little Oakley, which he had of the grant of Matilda de Houby his mother. 13 Edw. II. Seal.

Grant by John Giffard of Cotterstock (Cotherstoke), clerk, to John Giffard his nephew and Isabel his wife, of a fourth part of the manor of Little Oakley and certain services in the vill of Newton, with successive remainders in tail to John Fitz-William of Lyveden, Ellen niece of the grantor, and Joan and Joan (*sic*) sisters of Sir Luke Giffard, Rector of Cotterstock. 17 Edw. II. Two heraldic seals.

Settlement of the manor of Little Oakley and the advowson of the church on John Filiol, knight, and Margery his wife, and on Richard and John, sons of the said John, in tail. 5 Edw. III.

Release by Walter de Houby, knight, to Isabel, relict of John Giffard of Oakley, and William his son, of all his right in a fourth part of the manor of Little Oakley. Witnesses:—Sir John Engaine, Sir Simon de Drayton, knights, and seven others named. 9 Edw. III. Five heraldic and five other seals.

Release by John, son and heir of Roger Giffard, of Cotterstock, cousin and heir of John Giffard, lord of Cotterstock, clerk, to Henry Mulso of Geddington, of all his right in a fourth part of the manor of Little Oakley, with certain services in Great Newton. 35 Edw. III. Seal.

Grant by Henry de Geytington, clerk, and John Basset of Rushden (Rushenden), chaplain, to William Purly of Oakley and Matilda his wife, of the fourth part of the manor of Little Oakley, called 'Gyffards' place,' which they had of the grant of Henry Mulsho. 42 Edw. III Seal.

Grant by John Basset and Henry Drayton to Richard Erchebaud and Matilda his wife, for life, of the manor of Little Oakley and the advowson of the church, which they had of the grant of William Pirly, with remainder to Peter son and heir of William Pirly and the heirs of his body, and to William brother of the said Peter and the heirs of his body, and to the heirs of the bodies of the said Richard Erchebaud and Matilda his wife. 49 Edw. III.

Parish Registers

A box containing six volumes of registers of the baptisms, marriages, and burials in the following parishes, etc.:—

Stanford, co. Northampton . . .	A.D. 1607–1668
Swinford, co. Leicester	A.D. 1559–1632
„ „	A.D. 1706–1741
Claybrook, co. Leicester	A.D. 1563–1636
„ „	A.D. 1637–1664
„ „	A.D. 1664–1685

('Lord Braye's MSS.' p. 107)

A KENTISH CHANCERY SUIT

THE remarkable pedigree here set out in chart form of five generations and some sixty persons of the same name and family has been constructed from the evidence in a single Chancery suit [*Chan. Pro. before* 1714, Reynardson, 134].

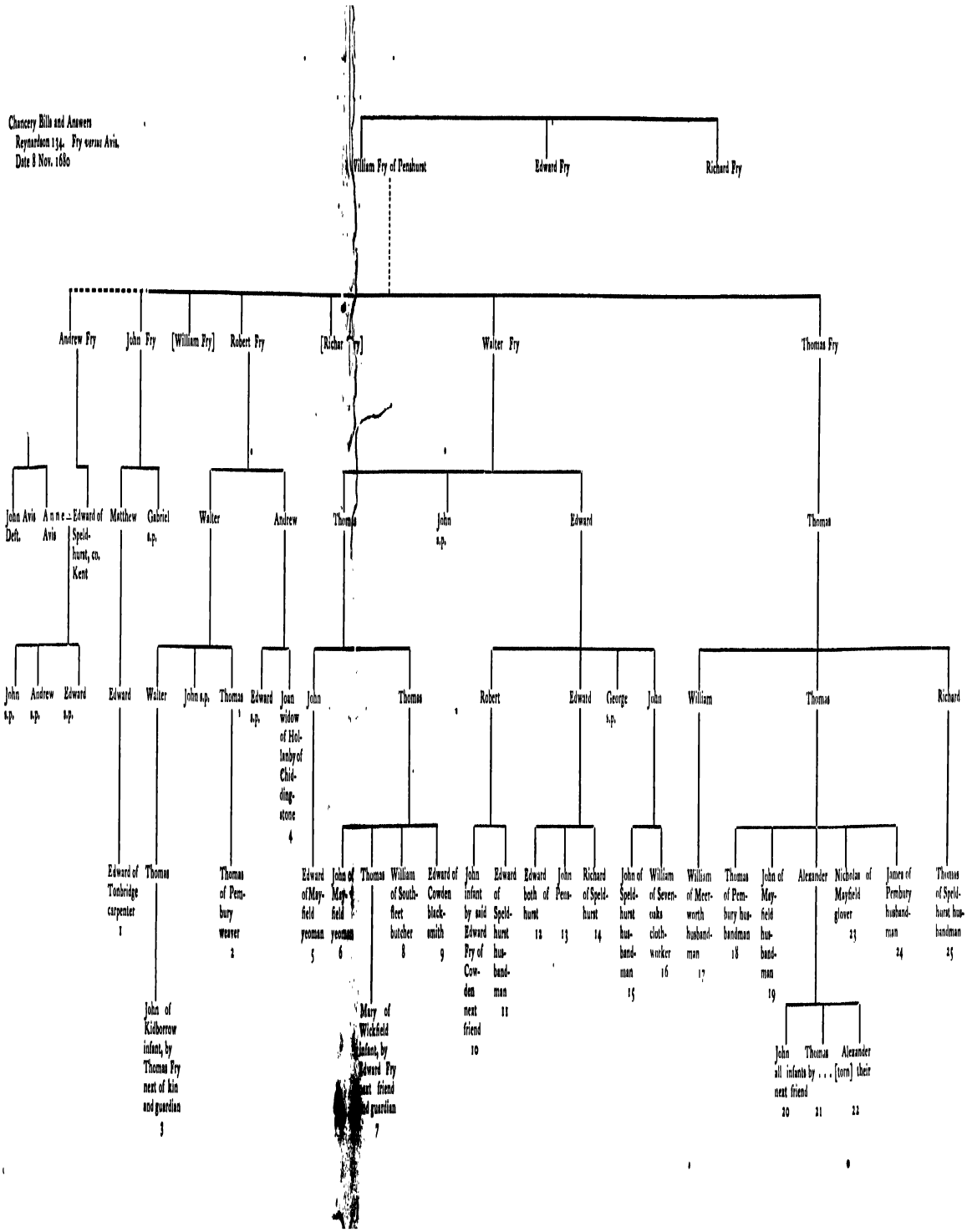
The twenty-five complainants shown upon the pedigree (whose descent from the four brothers Fry is clearly described) state that they are heirs according to the custom of gavelkind of Andrew Fry who died without issue and intestate, possessed of lands in Speldhurst and Ashurst, co. Kent, which were seized by John Avis, who, as the complainants allege, is only an uncle on the mother's side of the said intestate. Andrew Fry was second and last surviving son of Edward Fry and grandson of Andrew Fry.

John Avis, the defendant, denies that Andrew Fry, the grandfather, had any brothers. In the depositions taken October 24, 1684 [*Chan. dep.* Reynardson, 955], his witnesses seek to show that Andrew the grandfather came from some other part of the country, and was not a Kentish or Sussex man. However this may be I have pretty good evidence that a certain William Fry of Penshurst who had seven sons (John, William, Robert, Richard, Walter, Andrew and Thomas), five of whose names coincide with those of the brothers at the head of our pedigree, was in all probability the ancestor of these sixty Frys. This William was brother to Edward and Richard Fry who held lands in Penshurst and Leigh [Hasted's *Kent*, i. 411, 425].

E. A. FRY.

[*To face page* 204.

Chancery Bills and Answers
Reynardson 134. Fry *versus* Avis.
Date 8 Nov. 1680



NOTES ON THE PEDIGREE OF MULTON OF FRAMPTON, CO. LINCOLN

READERS of Lincolnshire records frequently come across the name of Multon, and the Thomas and John de Multons are most confusing; it may therefore be of some service to give a pedigree of one of the families of the name, and so help to distinguish the different individuals. Two De Banco Rolls are my chief authorities. The first[1] records a suit A.D. 1343 between King Edward III. and Henry Hillary, chivaler, concerning the next presentation to the church of Somercotes. The king claims against Henry, and John de Multon, to present by reason of the temporalities of the abbot of Langonet in his hands because of the war with France. Henry Hillary says that one Thomas de Multon of Frampton was seised of four acres of land in Somercotes, to which the advowson of the church belongs, and presented Richard de Trowell, clerk, who was instituted in the time of peace in the time of King Henry the great-grandfather, and from Thomas the said land and advowson descended to one Thomas as son and heir, and from the same Thomas to one Alan as son and heir, and from Alan to one Thomas as son and heir, who was under age, and Joan who was the wife of Alan de Multon presented to the church in his right in the time of King Edward the grandfather, and from this Thomas de Multon of Frampton the right descended to one Thomas as son and heir, who being within age was in the custody of Thomas de Multon of Egremound, who in his right presented to the church one Walter de Ratheby, who was instituted in the time of King Edward the father, and by whose death the said church is now vacant; and this same Thomas de Multon of Frampton, when he came to his full age, granted the said four acres and advowson, with other manors, lands, etc., to Thomas Pecche, chivaler, and William Hardy, citizen of Lincoln, to hold for their lives, who demised their whole 'status' to the same Henry. As no one appears for the king a writ is issued to the bishop to admit Henry Hillary's clerk.

[1] De Banco Roll, No. 333, m. 114, Hillary 16–17 Edw. III.

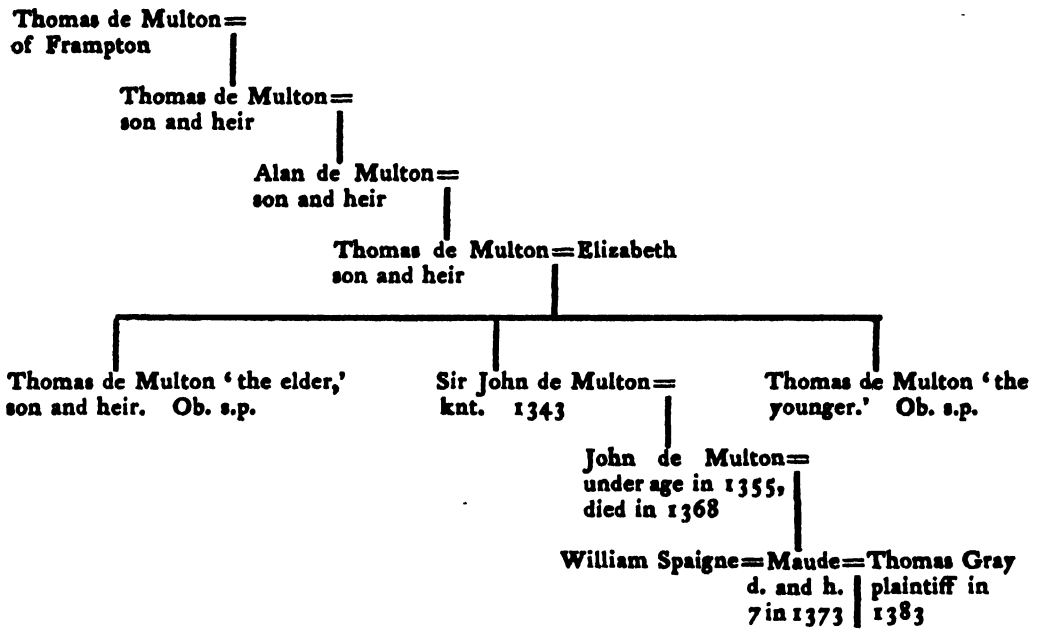
It must be said that *Testa de Nevill* (p. 303) states that the heir of Alan de Multon held the fourth part of a knight's fee in Somercotes, and (p. 312) that Margery, who was the wife of Alan de Multon, who has the custody of the son and heir of the same Alan, held the third part of a knight's fee in Frampton. This last statement makes Alan's widow Margery, not Joan as in the plea roll, and is confirmed by the Bishop's Institutions at Lincoln, from which we learn that Margery, who was the wife of Alan de Multon of Frampton, presented to the church of Saltfleetby in 1252.

The latter portion of the pedigree is proved by a De Banco Roll[1] of A.D. 1383. Thomas de Gra and Maude his wife demand against William Dyotson two acres of land in Kirkton next Fraunkton, which were given to Thomas de Multon of Frampton and Elizabeth his wife and the heirs of their bodies, and which after their death, and that of Thomas their elder son,[2] and of John another son, and of Thomas the younger, another son, who died without heir of his body, and of John son of the said John son of Thomas, ought to descend to the said Maude, daughter of the said John son of John, and kinswoman and heir of the said Thomas the elder.

The Inquisition post mortem[3] of John de Multon of Frampton in 1373 proves that he held nothing in Lincolnshire on the day he died but the advowson of the church of Mithyngesby, but that the said John de Multon of Frampton, son of John de Multon of Frampton, knt., alienated in fee the manor of Frampton to certain trustees. He died in foreign parts on Friday before the feast of St. Bartholomew in the xlii[nd] year, and Maude his daughter is his next heir, and of the age of seven years and more, and is married to William son of William Spaigne of Boston.

[1] De Banco Roll, No. 491, m. 546, Mich. 7 Rich. II.
[2] It is stated on the Roll that he died without heir of his body.
[3] Chancery Inq. p.m. 47 Edw. III. 1st Nos. No. 26.

PEDIGREE OF MULTON OF FRAMPTON 207



A GENEALOGIST'S KALENDAR OF CHANCERY SUITS OF THE TIME OF CHARLES I.

A$\frac{1}{51}$ Answer (27 July 1647) of Anne Darell, one of the defendants to the bill of Thomas Allanson.

Concerning a conveyance of a messuage and lands called Wapses, made to this defendant by her grandfather Christopher Hampden, esquire, now deceased. This defendant sold the same about nine years since to Mr. Waller of Beconsfeild, co. Bucks, esquire. The defendant is daughter of Sir Sampson Darell.

A$\frac{1}{52}$ Bill (12 Feb. 1646) of Christopher Atkinson of Rookewith, co. York, and Dorothy his wife, formerly wife and administratrix of James Dodsworth, deceased.

Answers (21 April 1647) of William Sothill and Alice his wife, Simon Hutchinson (of Rookewith), Augustine Allen (of Rookewith), Francis Grayson and Godfrey Dawson.

Concerning the claim of Dorothy Atkinson to her portion of the estate of her late husband, who died intestate in Feb. 1640. Christopher Dodsworth his father died soon after, leaving a will whereof the said Alice, wife of William Sothill of Heeninge, co. York, was extrix. Dorothy is daughter of Thomas Dennison.

A$\frac{1}{53}$ Bill (9 June 1646) of Ralph Ashbie of Shorditch, co. Middlesex, shipwright.

Answers (17 June 1646) of William Pennoyer and Stephen Thompson of the city of London, merchants.

Concerning goods shipped on board the ship *Gift* of London.

A$\frac{1}{54}$ Bill (20 May 1644) of Edward Alcorne of Leighing, co. Kent, gent.

Answer (24 May 1644) of John Wildish and Elizabeth his wife.

Lease made 26 Sep. 8 Car. I. by the compt. to Elizabeth Ramsden of Rochester, widow, and John Wildish of Rochester, butcher, of a messuage and shops in the parish of St. Nicholas, Rochester. The said Elizabeth Ramsden, mother-in-law of John Wildish, is another defendant to the suit.

A$\frac{1}{55}$ Bill (6 Feb. 1644) of Thomas Arnold (admor. of John Cranfeild of Redriffe, co. Surrey, mariner, deceased, who died intestate in August 1643) complainant against Robert Earle.

Concerning the said Cranfeild's share in the ship *George* of London.

A$\frac{1}{56}$ Bill (3 Feb. 1644) of Matthew Ablett of Chelsey, co. Middlesex, chandler.

Answer (10 April . . .) of Thomas Griffin and Elizabeth his wife.

Concerning a loan made to the defendants about three years since by Thomas Ablett *alias* Burnell of Eversall, co. . . . , which Thomas died intestate, leaving the complainant his only son and admor. The said Thomas, at the time of the loan was lodging in the defendants' house at Eversall or Eversholt. The defendants style him Thomas Burnell, and say that he had left his house and family in Yorkshire, fearing arrest for debt, and that his widow is still living.

A$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{7}$ Bill (13 Feb. 1629) of Thomas, Lord Arrundell of Warder, son of Sir Matthew Arrundell, deceased.

Answer (13 April 1630) of John Foyle of the Middle Temple, gent.

Answer (6 April 6 Car. I.) of George Preston, esquire.

Concerning settlements of his lands which Sir Matthew Arrundell made with the privity and aid of the defendant, who says 'that the greatest worldly care which Sir Mathewe Arrundell hadd was to prevent the sale of Warder Castle' or of such lands as should be in the power of his son to sell, and that he desired to entail them upon his grandchild Thomas, the son of the complainant. The said Thomas the grandson hath married the Lady Blanch, one of the daughters of Edward, Earl of Worcester, which match was well approved of by the compt. when he came back from the Low Countries. Mary, the first wife of the complaint., did not live many years after his said return. Afterwards the said complainant, having a purpose to marry the gentlewoman now his wife, is said to have assured his son that he would not match with any great person, so that the estate might not be clogged with a great jointure. The marriage portions are named of Katherine and Anne, two of the daughters of the said compt.

A$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{8}$ Bill (14 Nov. 1629) of Nathaniel Allen of Sturmere, co. Essex, gent.

Answer (6 Dec. 1629) of Henry Gent, esquire, Frances Chapman widow and John Chapman her son and Ralph Fitch, yeoman.

Answer (18 Jan. 1629) of Reuben Robinson and of John Smith and Priscilla his wife.

Concerning a messuage and land in Sturmere settled by defendant Frances on the marriage of William Chapman her son and heir in Oct. 18 Jac. I. with Margery, dau. of Henry Robynson of Fairested, co. Essex, clerk, now deceased, whose exors. were his children the defendants Reuben and Priscilla.

A$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{9}$ Bill (5 Feb. 1624) of Sir John Anderson kt. and bart. a minor, one of the sons of Sir Francis Anderson kt. deceased, by Francis, Lord Dunsmore, and Dame Audrey his wife, his guardians.

Answer () of Elizabeth, Viscountess Beaumont and Henry Cockram (defendants with Eleanor Sapcoats and Samuel Smally and William Anderson).

Concerning a lease of the manor of Mesam, co. Leicester, etc. made by complainant's father. The said Dame Audrey is relict and extrix. of the said Sir Francis Thomas. Viscount Beaumont married Elizabeth, the defendant, dau. and heir of Henry Sapcotes, a recusant, who died in July 1629, a prisoner in the Fleet, leaving defendant Eleanor his relict and administratrix. Frances Anderson, compt.'s only sister, is

named as lately dead. Thomas, Viscount Beaumont, made a will in February 22 Jac. I. and died leaving Sir Sapcoats Beaumont, Viscount Beaumont, his son and heir, then aged 10 years, 9 months and 3 days.

A$\frac{1}{60}$ Bill (21 April 1630) of John Asberrye of Chartley, co. Stafford, and Margaret his wife.

Answer (3 May 1630) of William Johnson of London, gent.

Concerning an alleged feoffment made by Matthew Erdeswicke gent. of lands in Millwigge, co. Stafford. Complainant Margaret is daughter of John Johnson of Millwigge, co. Stafford, by Alice his wife, who remarried with the said Erdeswicke. The defendant is the said complainant's uncle.

A$\frac{1}{61}$ Bill (10 May 1630) of Robert Aylett of Feering, co. Essex, doctor of law.

Answer (27 May 1630) of George Cooke *alias* Barker of Feering, draper, and Joane his wife and John Clench.

Concerning messuage and lands in Feering.

A$\frac{1}{62}$ Bill (26 Nov. 1629) of Thomas, Lord Arundell of Wardor, on his own behalf and on behalf of other creditors of William, Lord Eure of Malton.

Answer (21 April 1630) of William, Lord Eure, one of the defendants.

Concerning the debts of the defendant, and settlements made on the marriage of Rafe Eure, son and heir of the defendant, with the complainant's daughter Katherine about four years since.

A$\frac{1}{63}$ Further answer (21 Nov. 1646) of Sarah Rowed, defendant, to the bill of Robert Aylett and Margery Huggen.

Debts of defendant's late husband Thomas Rowed.

A$\frac{1}{64}$ Bill (6 Feb. 1644) of Thomas Ashberrye of St. Martins in the fields, gent., and Elizabeth his wife and Thomas Cotton, Dorothy Cotton and Isabell Cotton, son and daughters of Sir John Cotton of Wooddytton, co. Cambridge, Knight, and of Dame Elizabeth his wife, and brother and sisters of the said Elizabeth Ashberrye.

Answer (19 April 1645) of Walter Pratt of Ditton, gent.

Concerning money which the said Dame Elizabeth, dying fifteen years since, is said to have entrusted to the defendant for his children's benefit.

A$\frac{1}{65}$ Bill (28 Nov. 1644) of Valentine Austin of Well, co. Kent, yeoman.

Answer (5 Feb. 1644) of Paul Parker of St. Nicholas in Thanet, yeoman.

Concerning land in Ickham, co. Kent, of which one William Parker of Wingham was formerly seised—whose son the defendant is. Jane Parker, wife of the said William, is named.

A$\frac{1}{66}$ Bill (9 July 1644) of William, Lord Alington, complainant against George Foalkes of Bottisham, co. Cambridge, gent.

Concerning a sale to the defendant of grass at Bottisham.

A$\frac{1}{67}$ Bill (18 July 1646) of George Awcocke of Penhurst, co. Sussex, yeoman, exor. of the will of Richard Awcocke late of Penhurst, yeoman, deceased.

Answer (20 June 1646) of John Atkins, the younger, of Brightlinge, yeoman (son and exor. of John Atkins the elder, who died in June 1644) and Thomas and Matthew Atkins, his younger brothers.

Concerning a messuage and lands in Penhurst of which Elizabeth Elphicke, widow, who died in July 1640, was seised for life, with remr. to the said John Atkins the elder, who conveyed his estate in the same to the defendant John on his marriage.

A$\frac{1}{68}$ Bill (20 April 1646) of Phinées Andrew of London, gent., and Thomas and Jonathan Andrewe, both of London, merchants.

Answer (2 May 1646) of Thomas Falthroppe, clerk, and Elizabeth Falthroppe his daughter (who is aged 22 years).

Concerning a conveyance of the Manor of Little Berkhamstead, co. Herts.

A$\frac{1}{69}$ Bill (8 Feb. 1646) of Edward Arblaster of Longdon, co. Stafford, gent., Henry Robinson of Mavison Ridware, co. Stafford, yeoman, and Francis Browne of Longdon, yeoman, administrators of Henry Wescott of Handsacre, gent., deceased, and also Edward and Margaret Wescott, children of the said Henry Wescott, by the said Edward Arblaster, their next friend and kinsman.

Answer (24 Ap. 1647) of Richard Ward and Margaret Littleton (defendants with John Caywood).

Concerning the estate and debts of Henry Wescott, decd., who was son of Edward Wescott. The defendants deny that the compt. Edward Arblaster is of kindred to the said Edward Wescott the infant, who is ward to the Lord Paget. Edward the grandfather was seised of the manor of Handsacre Hall. Walter Wescott (now living), brother of Henry, and Jane Wescott, Henry's relict, are named. The defendant Margaret Littleton is sole surviving dau. and heir, and also administratrix of the will of Richard Bartlemewe, deceased.

A John Westcote procured letters of administration of the goods of Henry Westcote, of whom, according to the bill, he was of little or no kindred. Edward, Walter and Elinor Wescott were the younger children of Edward the grandfather.

A$\frac{1}{70}$ Replication () of Thomas Ayloffe, esquire, and Anne his wife, complainants, to the answer of Lawrance Homes, defendant.

A$\frac{1}{71}$ Bill (2 July 1628) of John Attrithe of Sandhurst, co. Berks, yeoman, on behalf of himself and of John Trigg of Crundole, co. Southt., and of Lawrence Watts of Yatelie, co. Southt., yeoman.

Answer (7 July 1628) of William Turner and Barnaby Alloway (defendants with Sir Daniel Norton and Robert Poore).

Concerning the arrest of the complainant upon an attachment.

A$\frac{1}{72}$ Bill (21 May 1645) of Erasmus Amy of Moulton, co. Lincoln, gent., and Anne Crosse of Wisbech in Ely, co. Cambridge, late wife of Thomas Crosse the elder, gent.

Answer () of John Swaine and Robert Swaine of Leverington in Ely, gentlemen, and John Coventry of Wisbech, gent.

Will of Edward Crosse of Wisbech, gent., one of the sons of the compt. Anne, who made his will about 18 Oct. 1644, having issue Thomas his only son and Katherine his only daughter. He gave legacies to Anne and Elizabeth Amy, two of the compt. Erasmus's daughters, to

be paid them by their mother. He made the said Erasmus Amy and John Swaine, his brothers in law, his exors., and died 21 Oct. 1644.

B½ Bill (24 Nov. 1637) of Francis Bauldwyn of St. Mary Strand, co. Middlesex, gent., and Richard Powell of St. Clement Danes, butcher, and Alice his wife, the said Alice being *procheine amie* in behalf of Leonard Martin, Charles Martin and Mary Martin, infants, the sons and daughter of her late brother John Martin of St. Giles's in the fields.

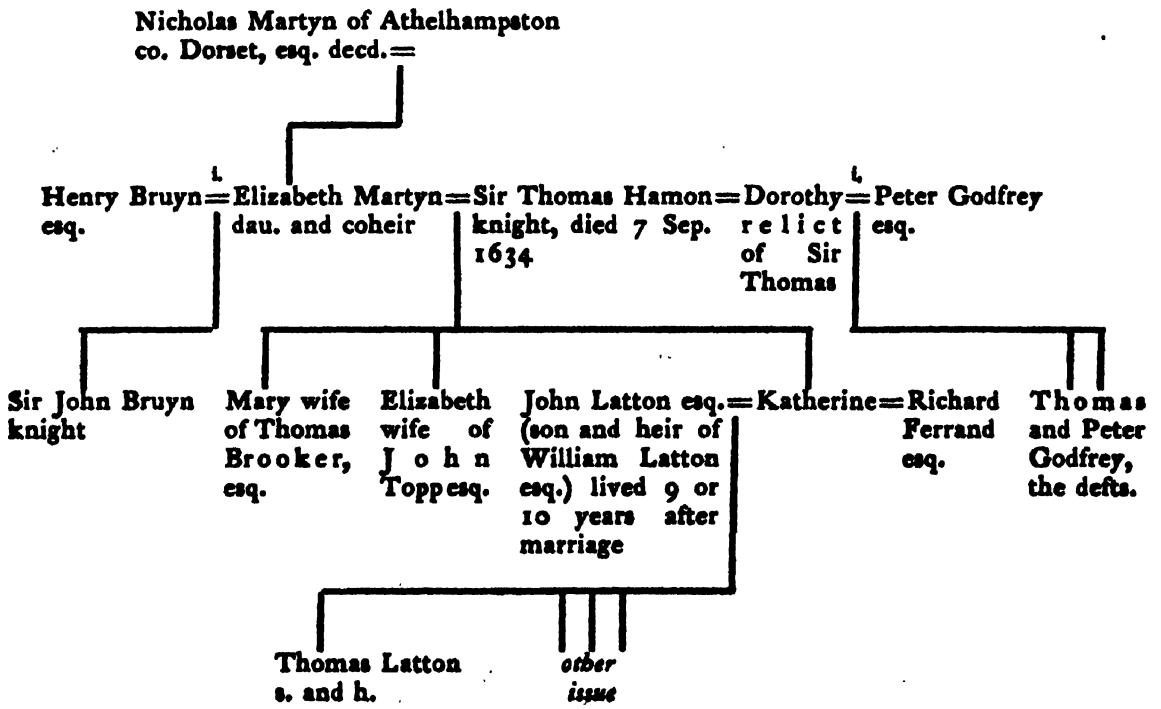
Answer (7 Dec. 1637) of Jane Seaward, widow, and Walter Pope (defendants with Roger Osbaldstone and Hannah Harman).

Concerning leases in Lewknor's Lane, Crosse Lane and Parker's Lane, and the estate of the said John Martin, who died intestate, Anne his relict being his administratrix. The said Anne died 19 April 1637, leaving a will dated the day before, by which she gave legacies to Leonard and Charles, her husband's sons by a former wife, and to Martha and Mary Martin her own daughters, whom she left to the care of her sister Jane Seaward the defendant, whom the complainants describe as a poor woman selling apples. Martha Martin died soon after her mother. Lydia Seaward, dau. of Jane, was also a legatee of her aunt.

B½ Bill (30 June 1637) of Thomas Brooker of Sundrish, co. Kent, esquire, and Mary his wife, John Topp of Stockton, co. Wilts, esquire, and Elizabeth his wife, which Mary and Elizabeth are daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas Hamon, deceased.

Answer (22 and 23 Sep. 1637) of Sir Peter Heyman, knight, Richard Hardres, esq., and Anne his wife, Thomas Godfrey and Peter Godfrey, esquires (defendants with Sir John Bruyn, knight, Richard Ferrand and Katherine his wife.

Concerning the will of Sir Thomas Hamon, knight, deceased. His daughter Katherine, the defendant, married Richard Ferrand against her father's wish.



B½ Bill (18 Oct. 1637) of William Brand of Lincolns Inn Grange, co. Mx., gent., John Chappell and Thomas Gould, citizens and stationers of London.

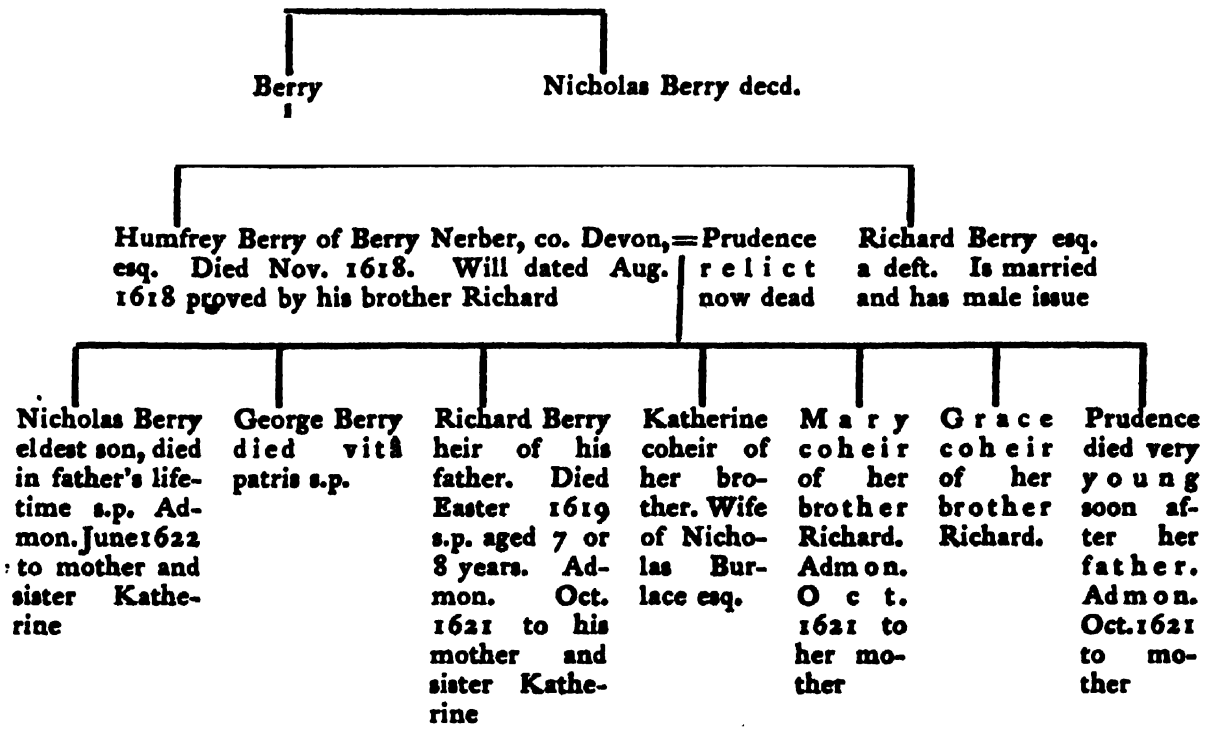
Answer (16 Nov. 1637) of William Tyrwhitt (of Kettelby, co. Lincoln) esq. (defendant with Sir William Hanserd, George Tyrwhitt and Faith his wife, Thomas Hildred and his wife, John Oldfeild and Robert Pagett).

Concerning a conveyance made in Michaelmas 1635 by the said George Tyrwhitt and his wife to the compt. William Brand of lands in Horncastle, Thimelby, Thorneton and Langton, co. Lincoln, for the life of the said Faith. Thomas Hildred's wife was a dau. of William Pagett, whose son William was first husband of the said Faith, who was daughter of Everingham Cressy, esq., a Lincolnshire justice, to whom her second husband George Tyrwhitt was clerk and servant. The defendant Robert Pagett is heir of Arthur Pagett, deceased.

B½ Bill (28 June 1637) of Nicholas Burlace, esq. and Katherine his wife.

Answers (5 Oct. 1637) of Richard Berry, esq., Ralph Berry, esq., John Coffin and John Poyntz, gentlemen.

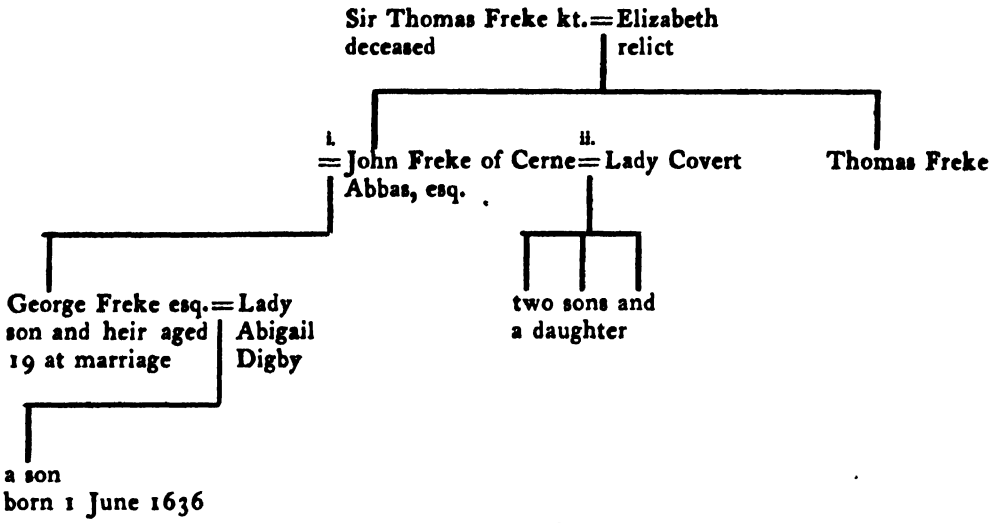
Concerning leases made by Humfrey Berry, esq. deceased.



B½ Bill (17 May 1637) of John, Earl of Bristol.

Answer (3 Nov. 1637) of John Freke of Cerne Abbas, co. Dorset, esq. (defendant with John Trenchard, esq., and George Ryves).

Concerning settlements made upon the marriage, about 3 years since, of the defendant's son and heir with the compt.'s second daughter; who had a portion of 5000*l.*



B$\frac{1}{6}$ Bill (18 June 1646) of Joseph Bell, son and heir and admor. of William Bell of Thirsk, co. York, mercer, deceased.

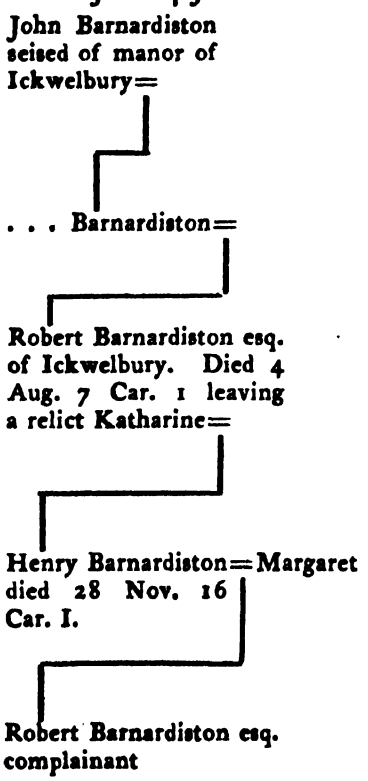
Answer (20 July 1646) of Michael Askwith, gent.

Concerning leases in Kilvington, co. York, etc.

B$\frac{1}{7}$ Bill (24 Nov. 1646) of Robert Barnardiston, esq.

Answers (9 Jan. 1646) of Mary Paradyne, widow, and (15 Jan. 1646) of Lewis Mordant, esq., defendants with Edward Baber, esq., Thomas Sheafe, M.D., Henry Isles, gent., Thomas Paradyne, gent., Lewis Paradyne, gent., William Gery and George Barnardiston. The two Paradynes, Thomas and Lewis, are sons of Peter Paradyne, decd., son and heir of the said Mary Paradyne.

Concerning a settlement of the manor of Ickwelbury, co. Beds, made by Robert Barnardiston 20 Jan. 14 Jac. I. after the marriage of his son Henry.



$B\frac{1}{8}$ Bill (20 May 1642) of Sir Thomas Brooke of Rotherbie, co. Leic., knight.

Answer (10 June 1642) of John Jackson and (14 June 1642) of Richard Roe.

Concerning a sum of 500*l.* borrowed about 12 Nov. 13 Jac. I. by Sir Alexander Cave, kt., now deceased, of one William Goodall, gent., or of Richard Goodall his father.

$B\frac{1}{9}$ Bill (25 May 1644) of Thomas Birkehead, citizen and armourer of London.

Answer (4 June 1644) of John Eaton, defendant with James Butler and Robert Hollings.

Concerning the estate of Rombolt Jacobson a brewer who died some months since possessed of a brewing copper worth 230*l.* Rombolt made a will and named as his executrix his wife Joane, who renounced probate, and thereupon letters of admon. were granted (P.C.C.) 12 Oct. 1643 to Robert Hollings and John Eaton, creditors of the deceased.

$B\frac{1}{10}$ Bill (26 Nov. 1646) of Ralph Britten of Bexhill, co. Sussex, yeoman.

Answer (29 Jan. 1646) of Thomas Collingham of Bexhill, husbandman, defendant with Nicholas Jarrett of the same, butcher.

Concerning the estate of William Hull of Bexhill, co. Sussex, butcher, who was indebted to compt.

$B\frac{1}{11}$ Bill (10 Dec. 1646) of Faithfull Boughey of Stony Stratford, co. Bucks, gent.

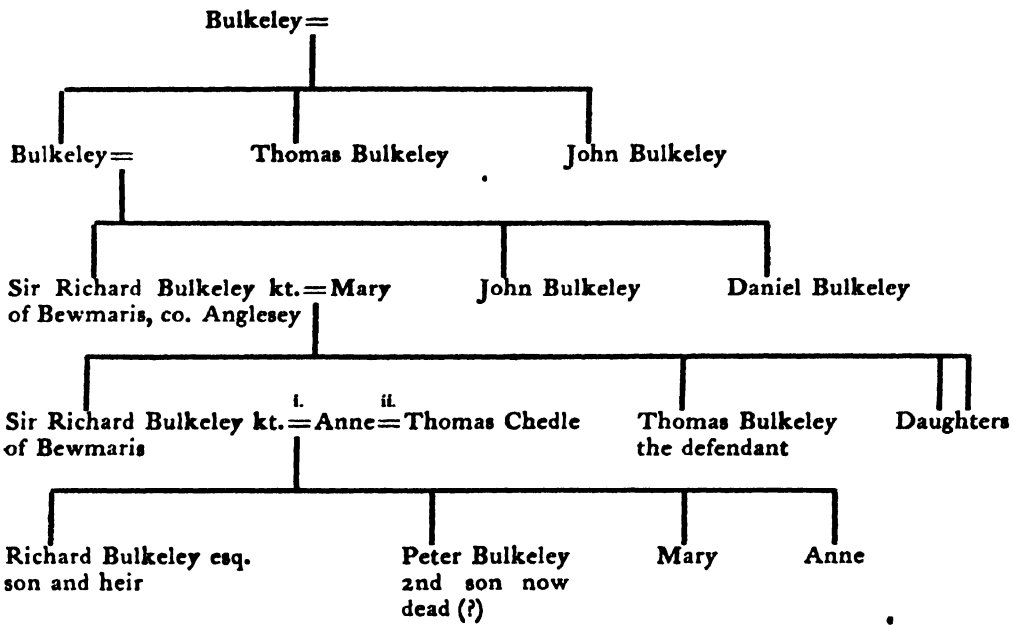
Answer (22 Jan. 1646) of Matthias Penn of Newport Pagnell, gent.

Concerning the estate of Henry Penn of Stony Stratford, gent., deceased, who is said by the compt. to have made a will whereof Peter Penn his grandson was named exor. Letters of admon. were granted to compt. during the said Peter's minority.

$B\frac{1}{12}$ Bill (3 July 1639) of Robert Bulkeley of London, gent.

Answer (16 Nov. 1639) of Thomas Bulkeley, esq.

Concerning alleged concealment of evidences by the defendant, and the legitimacy of the defendant, who claims to be now the second son of Sir Richard Bulkeley the younger by Dame Anne his wife. The defendant denies the claim and says that Dame Anne refuses to acknowledge the compt. as her son, and that the said Dame Anne is well aware of his real parentage. The following pedigree is derived mainly from the recital by the defendant of an entail made by Sir Richard Bulkeley the elder.



B 1/13 Bill (9 Feb. 1645) of Thomas Backe of Hinxhill, co. Kent, gent., exor. of the will of his father Thomas Backe of Hinxhill, gent., decd.

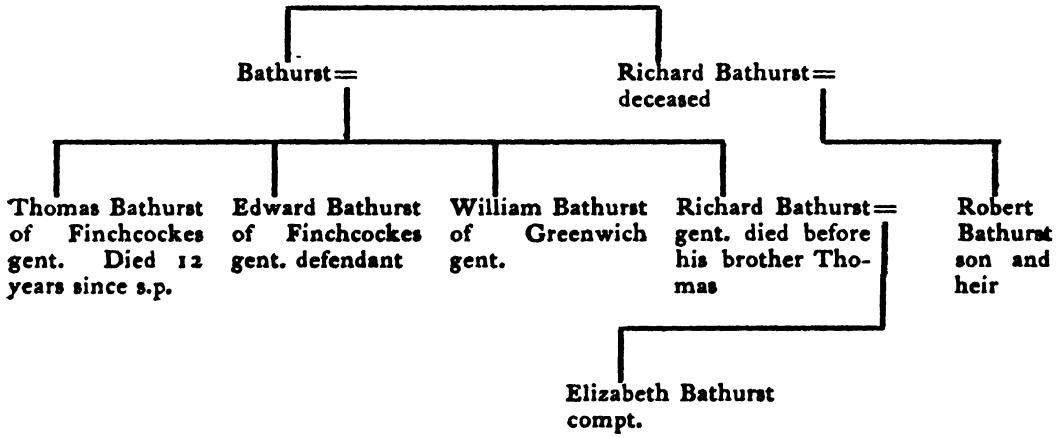
Answer (26 May 1646) of Anne Backe, widow, and (16 Apr. 1646) of William Denne, gent.

Concerning the estate of Edward Backe ot Billesborow, co. Kent, a grazier, the brother of the complainant, who died 1 Apr. 1639 leaving Anne, the defendant, his relict and admix., who was aided in the disposition of the estate by the said Thomas the father. The said William Denne is brother in law to the said Anne.

B 1/14 Bill (20 April 1646) of Elizabeth Bathurst by Thomas Weldon her guardian.

Answer (29 May 1646) of Edward Bathurst, gent.

Concerning the compt.'s claim to a share of rents out of the manor or farm of Finchcockes, co. Kent, whereof the brothers Thomas, Edward and William were seized as co-parceners.



$B\frac{1}{15}$ Bill (25 Jan. 1639) of Nicholas Blake of Halstoe, co. Kent, yeoman.
Answer (9 May 1640) of Sir Edward Hales, bart., and William Powell, gent.
Concerning the Customs of the manor of Hoo, co. Kent, etc.

Nicholas Hardes of Halstoe gunner, seised of lands *etc.* in Halstoe, Hoo and St. Nicholas which he devised to his son with diver remainders amongst his two daughters and their issue. Died 1609=

Nicholas Hardes only son. Died 1625 s.p.

Anne wife of . . . Marshall =

Joan wife of William Blake who is now old =

Margaret Marshall

Anne Marshall

Nicholas Blake son and heir, the complainant

$B\frac{1}{16}$ Bill (10 June 1646) of Edwin Buckmaster, citizen and woodmonger of London.
Answer (16 Nov. 1646) of William Hart of Lullingstone, co. Kent, esquire.
Concerning dealings in billet wood lying in Aynsford and Lullingstone, co. Kent.

$B\frac{1}{17}$ Bill (28 June 1645) of Richard Blade of Shipdham, co. Norfolk, yeoman.
Answer (4 Oct. 1645) of Thomas Blade, Anne Blade, widow, William Wells and Anne his wife.
Concerning the payment to the complainant of a legacy due to him under his father's will. The complainant modestly describes himself as 'illetorate and of a meane capacity and of a quiet and peaceable condicion.'

Richard Blade of Sporle, co. Norfolk, yeoman. Will dat. 2 Sep. 1625 = Alice, relict and extrix. Died soon after her husband

Valentine Blade had his fathers freeholds in Sporle. Died s.p. after making a nuncupative will in April 1643 = Anne relict

Henry Blade Dead in 1643 =

Thomas Blade a defendant

Richard Blade of Shipdham, yeoman

Anne

Elizabeth

both married at date of suit

B$\frac{1}{18}$ Bill (8 Feb. 1646) of William Bradshaw of Richards Castle, co. Hereford, gent.

Answer (27 May 1647) of John Ambler of Wolforton, co. Salop, yeoman.

Concerning a messuage and lands held by defendant in Richards Castle. The defendant denies that he holds under a lease from complainant's grandfather, and asserts that his family have held the same for more than 400 years. The compt. is son of Francis Bradshaw, gent., who died about two years since, and grandson of Rowland Bradshaw, esq., lessee of the manor of Richards Castle, who died twenty years since.

B$\frac{1}{19}$ Bill (13 May 1646) of Richard Browne of Ilchester, co. Somerset, keeper of his majesty's gaol for 33 years past.

Answer (13 June 1646) of John Swadell, Henry James, Richard Browne and Susan Banton.

The compt. made a deed of gift of his goods in Nov. 1639 fearing that they would be taken from him on account of the Attorney General's prosecution of him for misconduct in his office. The compt. makes bitter complaint of his ill usage by his sons, who called him a murderous old rogue, and accused him of murdering their mother. Also they threatened him in his house with pistols, so that he was forced 'to secure himself behind the chimney,' and turned him from his door at ten o'clock of the night. The defendants allege that the compt. is in the ill hands of one Dorothy Doudney, a dissolute woman, and one John Poole, a seditious fellow, who desires to marry him to one of his own daughters, 'very young and not very honest.'

Richard Browne compt. = Sarah dau. of John Swadell of Puddimore co. Som. gent. marr. about 28 years since

1 Richard Browne son and heir, a defendant

2 John Browne

Christopher Browne

Five other children

B$\frac{1}{20}$ Bill (12 Feb. 1639) of William Barton of Titherington, co. Glouc., yeoman.

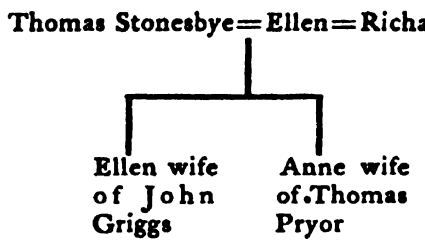
Answers (26 Sep. 1640) of Susan, wife of Robert Barton, George Roch and Judith his wife, William Pullin, Edith Wood, James Pullin, Oswald Hill and Nicholas Smyth, all of Titherington, defendants with William Hobbs and Judith his wife, John Holly and Joan his wife and others.

Concerning a messuage and lands in Titherington.

B$\frac{1}{21}$ Bill (6 May 1646) of Henry Bonyon, yeoman, and Joan his wife, late wife of Henry Pedder.

Answer (17 Oct. 1646) of Richard Sharpe and Ellen his wife, defendants with John Griggs and Ellen his wife and Thomas Pryor and Anne his wife.

Concerning legacies under the will of Thomas Pedder of Eyton, co. Beds, yeoman, made in 1630, whereof Henry Pedder was exor.



B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ Bill (26 Jan. 1646) of Martyn Bradgate of London, merchant.

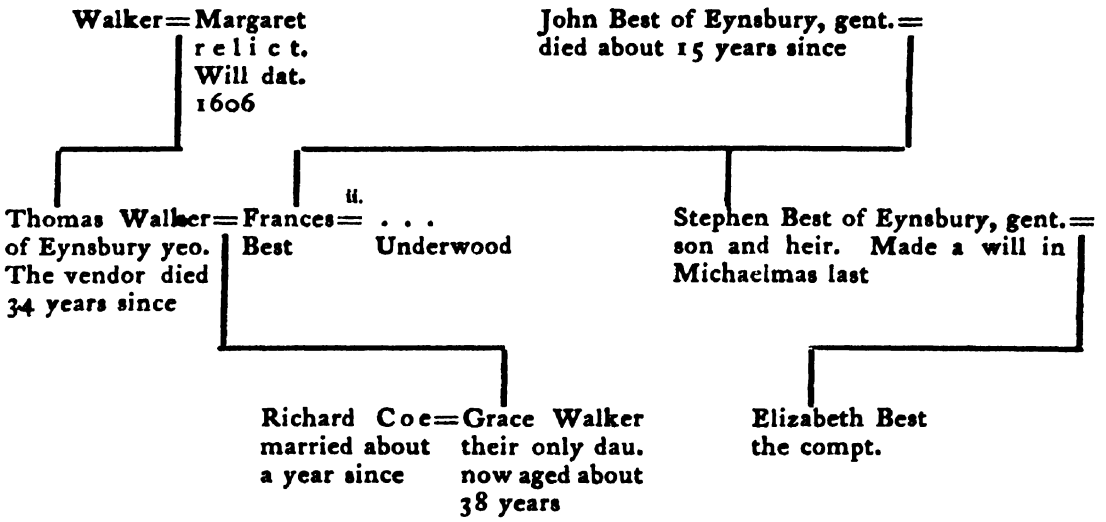
Answer (4 Feb. 1646) of Mary Carter the defendant, who since the exhibition of the bill is wife of Edmund Ellis.

Concerning the complainant's dealing in wines with Thomas Carter, citizen and vintner, who died in May last, leaving the defendant Mary, his relict and admix.

B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}$ Bill (25 May 1647) of Elizabeth Best of Eynsbury, co. Hunts, spinster.

Answer (17 June 1647) of Frances Underwood, widow, Richard and Grace Coe, defendants with Thomas Adams.

Concerning two messuages in Eynsbury which John Best of Eynsbury, gent., is said by the compt. to have bought about 40 years since of Thomas Walker of Eynsbury, yeoman, now deceased, and which are claimed by compt. as devisee under the will of her father, who was son and heir of John Best.



B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ Bill (21 May 1645) of William Bourchier of Rochford, co. Essex, gent.

Answer (30 Oct. 1645) of William Taynter of Staple Inn, gent., a defendant with Charles Nuthall (his kinsman) and Titus Eyres.

Concerning a debt of the complainant, who was employed in the Parliament service for three years from 1642 onwards

B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{5}$ Bill (9 July 1647) of Richard Browne of Great Torrington, co. Devon, woollendraper.

Answer (16 Oct. 1647) of Grace Wellington of Great Torrington, widow, and Thomas Wellington her son.

Concerning trade disputes and money matters.

B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{6}$ Bill (12 July 1644) of John Bedwell of Feering, co. Essex, gent.

Answer (14 Oct. 1644) of John Byatt of Sawson, co. Cambridge, gent., and (10 Dec. 1644) of Nicholas Fox of Depden, gent.

Concerning money matters. John Lyttlebury esq. is named as having married Elizabeth, widow and admix. of Isaac Sutton of London, gent.

B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{7}$ Bill (11 Feb. 1645) of Thomas Bowes of York, grocer.

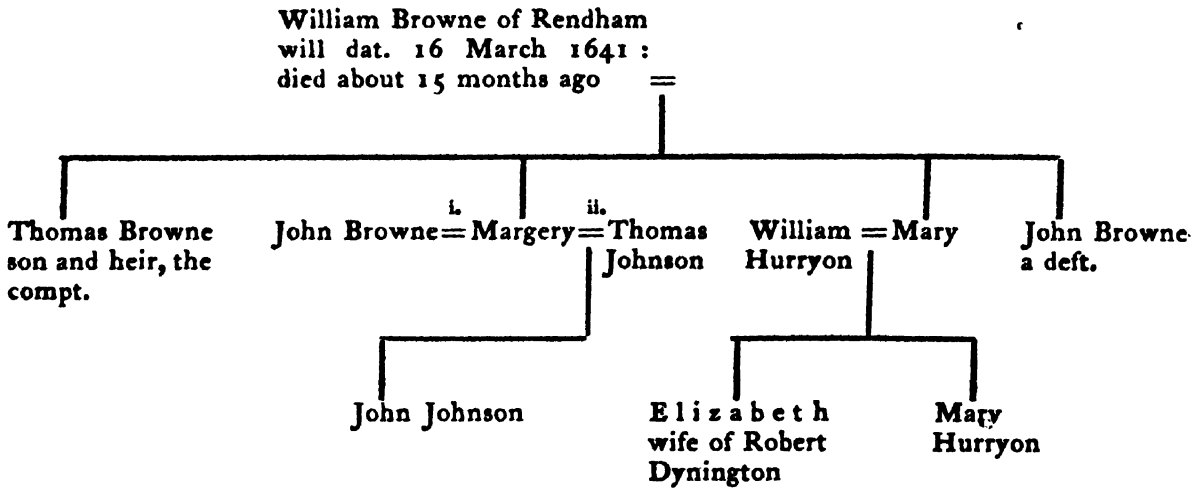
Answer () of William Trewman of Crake, co. York.

Concerning a sum of 20*l.* which the compt. alleges to have been delivered by his mother Emott Bowes of York, widow, during her last sickness about six years since, to the defendant, for the setting up in business of the compt., who was then an apprentice. Francis Bowes was her exor., whose widow married one Mr. Musgrave.

B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ Bill (21 June 1645) of Thomas Browne of Rendham, co. Suffolk, exor. of his father William Browne of Rendham.

Answer (17 Oct. 1645) of William Hurryon the elder and Mary his wife and Mary Hurryon their daughter defendants with Robert Dynington and Elizabeth his wife and John Browne.

Concerning the estate of William Browne deceased.



B$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{9}$ Bill (25 April 1646) of John Burton of York, draper, and Elizabeth his wife, Beatrix Loftus, Frances Loftus and Mary Loftus (which three are minors and by their guardian James Shoreswood of York.

Answer (4 June 1646) of Henry Collinson and Anne his wife and Percival Levett of York.

Concerning the alleged concealment of certain evidences by the defendants. The complainants Elizabeth, Beatrix, Frances and Mary are daughters of Edward Loftus of York, deceased, who died seised of a messuage in Fossegate in the city of York, leaving a will dated 2 Aug. 1643, whereof his widow, the defendant Anne, was extrix.

B$\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{0}$ Bill (27 Nov. 1632) of William Browne, citizen and cordwainer of London.

Answers (7 Dec. 1632) of William Drake and James Drake.

Concerning the suit of William Drake late of Fincham in Stanley, gent., now deceased, against Charles Saltaston *alias* Saltonstall, for whom the compt. and Thomas Browne, citizen and clothworker, now deceased, became bail in Trinity term 6 Car. I. The defendants are sons and exors. of the said Drake.

$B\frac{1}{31}$ Bill (19 June 1632) of John Browne, esq., one of the aldermen of the city of Gloucester.

Answer (26 Sep. 1632) of Henry Stringer of Oxford, gent., and Thomas Tayloe.

Concerning a like estate of Henry Stringer in the office of the Constableship of the Castle of Gloucester.

$B\frac{1}{32}$ Bill (14 May 1630) of William Baispoole of London, gent.

Answer (10 May 1630) of Talbot Pepys, esq., and Mary his wife, defendants with Mary, wife of George Fairfax of Armagh, gent.

Concerning certain bonds and bills obligatory which, the compt. alleges, were delivered by him to the custody of Henry Barker of Norwich, esquire, about 1 Aug. 1 Car. I. These bonds were for payment of certain sums to Thomas Lane and Robert Palgrave of Norwich, gentlemen, as trustees for the benefit of Alice, Mary, Elizabeth and Sara Baispoole, four of the children of the complainant. Henry Barker died soon after. The defendants Mary Pepys and Mary Fairfax are his sisters.

$B\frac{1}{33}$ Bill (12 Feb. 1629) of Digory Baker of Pollzaugh in Jacobstow, co. Cornwall, gent.

Answer (6 Apr. 1630) of Richard, Lord Roberts, exor. of his father John Roberts, esq.

Concerning a sum of 100*l.* which one John Stevens, on 15 Sep. 1601, borrowed of John Roberts of Truroe, esq., father of the defendant, for payment of which Nicholas Baker, gent., father of the compt., became bound with Angell Madocke and Richard Crosseman, gent.

$B\frac{1}{34}$ Bill (21 April, 1630) of Wilson Berisford of London, grocer.

Answer (3 May 1630) of Richard Turke of London, merchant.

Concerning dealings in tobacco.

$B\frac{1}{35}$ Bill (6 Feb. 1629) of Thomas Burrowe of Lyth, co. York, clerk, admor. of William Burrowe, deceased.

Answer (8 Apr. 1630) of Christopher Baitson, defendant with William Stockdaile and William Towler.

Concerning a bond whereby Christopher Stockdaile of Greene, co. Lancaster, gent., and George Stockdaile of Casterton, co. Westm., gent., became bound to William Burrowe of Kirkby Lonsdale, gent., for the payment of 15*l.* William Burrowe was father of the compt., and died about 5 years since. Christopher Stockdaile died intestate about 7 years since. The defendant William Stockdaile is the said Christopher's son.

$B\frac{1}{36}$ Bill (6 Feb. 1629) of Thomas Burrowe of Lyth, co. York, clerk, admor. of his father William Burrowe, deceased.

Answer (9 April 1630) of Thomas Smythies of Tunstall, co. Lanc.

Concerning the estate of the said William Burrowe, who is in this bill described as late of Tunstall, gent. [*vide* $B\frac{1}{35}$].

$B\frac{1}{37}$ Bill (22 Jan. 1629) of Matthew Bracken of London, gent.

Plea (23 March 1629) of Thomas Gilbye, esquire.

Concerning money matters. About ten years since one Robert Williamson of Haton, co. Notts, gent., was arrested in London and imprisoned on the suit of George Browne of Broxholme, co. Lincoln. The compt. alleges that the defendant, who was then of Boale, co. Notts, a neighbour and kinsman of Williamson, requested the compt. to become bail with him for Williamson, whose father Robert Williamson the elder was then living. The defendant pleads that the compt., as Matthew Bracken late of Litton, co. York, gent., was outlawed 27 Oct. 21 Jac. I. in a plea of debt at the suit of the defendant.

$B\frac{1}{38}$ Bill (17 April 1630) of Humfrey Baldwin of London, yeoman, and Richard Baldwin his brother.

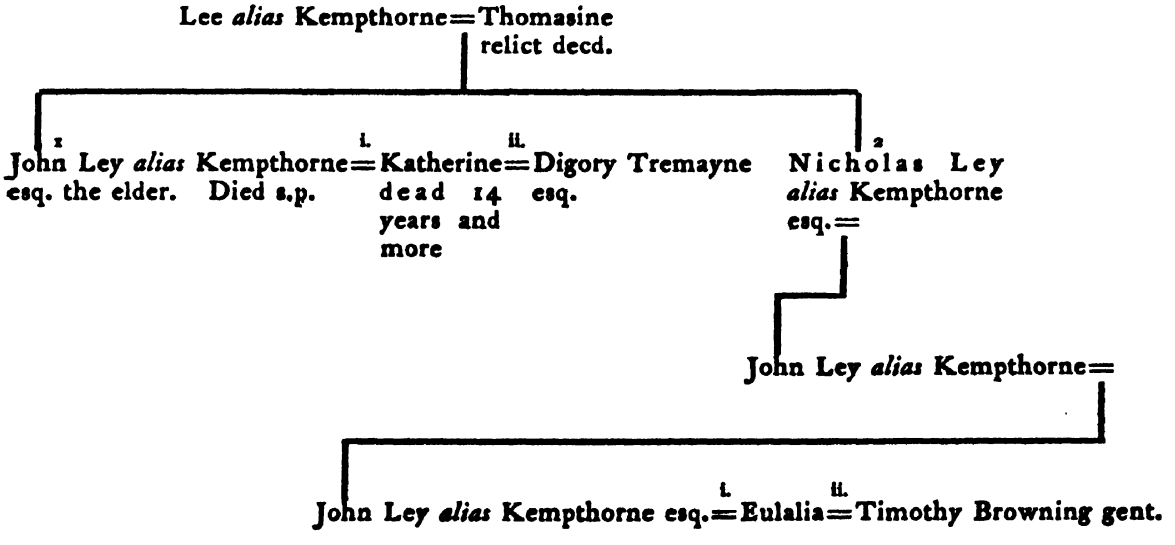
Answer (29 April 1630) of Andrew Colman of London, silk thrower.

Concerning an alleged agreement made 3 April 5 Car. I. whereby it was agreed that the said Humfrey should labour with the said Andrew and be instructed in his craft.

$B\frac{1}{39}$ Bill (26 Nov. 1628) of Timothy Browneing of Moorwinstow, co. Cornwall, gent., Eulalia his wife, extrix. of her former husband John Ley *alias* Kempthorne, esquire, deceased.

Answer (19 Jan. 1628) of John Molesworth, esq., of Egloshayle, one of the exors. of John Hender, esq., decd., Walter Roskarrocke of Trevalga, gent., and (12 Jan. 1628)of Edward Hender, gent.

Concerning lands called Penpethicke in Trevalga, co. Cornwall, of which the compts. allege that one Thomasine Ley *alias* Kempthorne, widow, and her son John Ley *alias* Kempthorne, esquire, the elder, were seised. The said Thomasine and John are alleged to have granted a lease of a moiety of the same, dated 7 Eliza., to Agnes Hender now deceased, then wife of William Hender, gent., for her life, with remr. to Edward Hender the defendant, son of the said William and Agnes, for his life, with remr. for life to William Hender another son who is now dead, the reversion being, with the other moiety, amongst lands conveyed in jointure by the said John the elder to Katherine his wife, who survived him and died after having married Digory Tremayne, esq. Walter Roskarrocke claims the lands as of the ancient inheritance of his name.



B$\frac{1}{40}$ Bill (30 April 1630) of Robert Bartlett of Cherington, co. Wilts, gent.

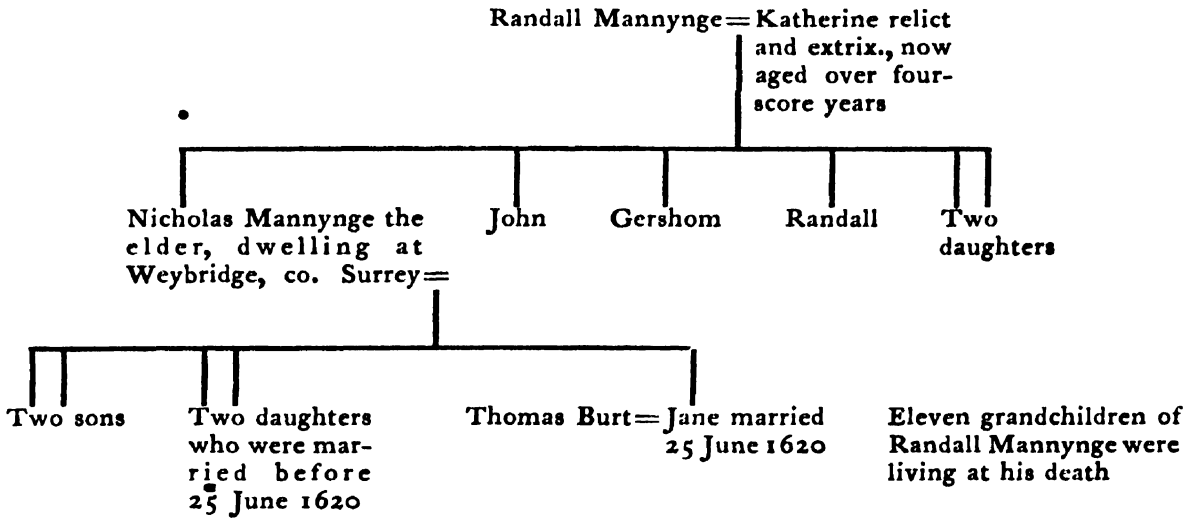
Answer (9 May 1630) of Edward Stratton of Bremble, co. Wilts, gent.

Concerning a bond of Francis Buckle of Dantsie, yeoman, in which the compt. was bound as a surety about ten years since. Francis Buckle died about two years since and the defendant was one of his creditors.

B$\frac{1}{41}$ Bill (5 Feb. 1629) of Thomas Burt of London, clerk.

Answer (15 Feb. 1629) of Katherine Mannynge, widow.

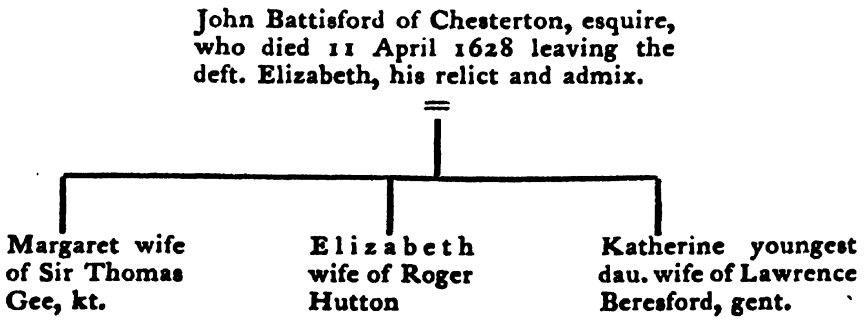
Concerning the will dated 9 Jan. 1611 of Randall Mannynge, citizen and skinner of London, the late husband of the defendant, and the portion of the compt.'s wife.



B$\frac{1}{42}$ Bill (28 Oct. 1629) of Lawrence Beresford of Chesterton, co. Cambridge, gent., and Katherine his wife and John their eldest son (an infant)

Answers (10 Jan. 1629) of Elizabeth Battisford, widow, Robert Battisford, Elizabeth wife of Roger Hutton and George Cawsey, and (11 Feb. 1629) of Roger Hutton, and (9 Nov. 1629) of Sir Thomas Gee, knight.

Concerning the portion of the compt. Katherine. The compt. Lawrence names his lands in Wilden, co. Beds.



B$\frac{1}{45}$ Bill (1 Feb. 1629) of Edmund Barber of Roukesley, co. Derby, gent.
Answer (22 March 1629) of John Leigne the younger of Offerton, yeoman, and William Glossopp of Offerton.

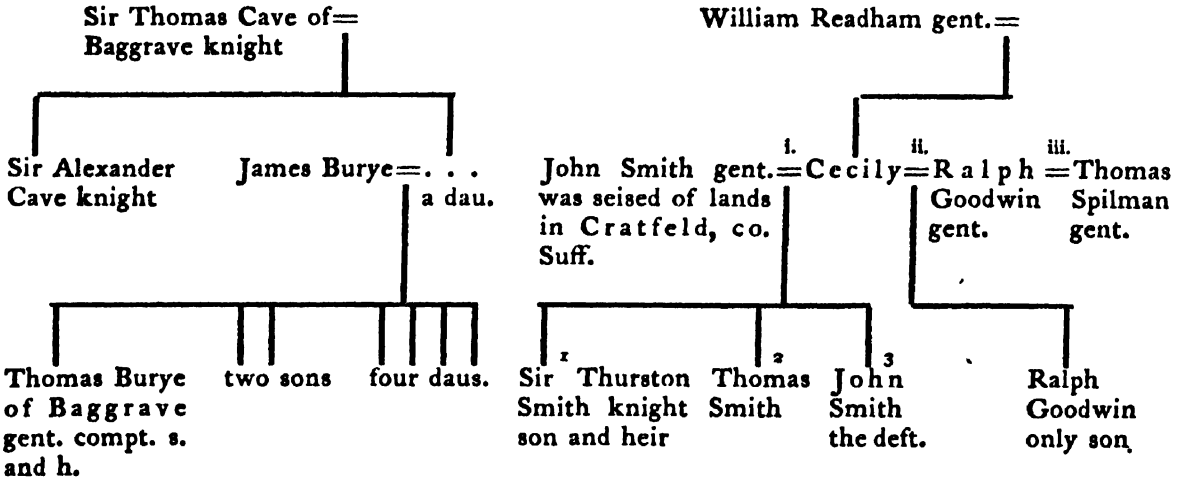
Concerning a debt of the compt. to one John Skinner of Hathersedge, gent., about seven years since.

B$\frac{1}{44}$ Bill (8 Feb. 1629) of Richard Blackaller of Lyons Inn, co. Mx., gent.
Answer (1 Apr. 1630) of Sir William Pole, knight, defendant with George Monck, John Vigures and William Cowse.

Concerning the estate of Peter Blackaller deceased. His will was dated in March 1613 and he died about 15 years since. Bridget his wife survived eight years. Thomas Blackaller was his son and heir. The compt. came to the age of 21 years about eighteen months since.

B$\frac{1}{46}$ Bill (16 June 1631) of Thomas Burye of Baggrave, co. Leic., gent.
Answer (5 Oct. 1631) of John Smithe of Tunstall, co. Suffolk, gent.

Concerning the manor of Eason, co. Lincoln, whereof James Burye died seised, and concerning the portions of the younger sons of John Smith, gent., deceased.



B$\frac{1}{48}$ Bill (25 June 1631) of Sir Richard Buller of Shillingham, co. Cornwall, knight.
Answer (3 Oct. 1631) of Thomas Wyvell, esq.

Concerning a lease of the rectory of St. Stephens near Saltash.

B$\frac{1}{47}$ Bill (12 Feb. 1629) of Richard Bonython of Carclewe, co. Cornwall, esquire (controller of the Stannaries).
Answer (6 Oct. 7 Car. I.) of Elizabeth, wife of John Tregosse, esq., defendant with the said John, and with Charles Vaughan, esq., and John Upton, esq.

Concerning a debt of John Tregosse of Trewsthack, esq., to the compt., which debt was contracted 22 years since, upon which the debtor was imprisoned. Charles Vaughan is brother of the said Elizabeth, who was daughter of Hugh Vaughan, esq., who died in 1606. Leonard Yeo, esquire, married the relict and extrix. of the said Hugh Vaughan.

B$\frac{1}{48}$ Bill (28 June 1631) of Nathaniel Burton of Eastbucland, co. Devon, gent., son and heir of Richard Burton of the same place, gent., deceased.

Answers (30 Sep. 1631) of Bartholomew Tossell of Eastbucland, mason, and Edmond Huxtable, defendants with John Tossell, brother of the said Bartholomew, and brother also of Andrew Tossell, deceased.

Concerning the farm and barton of Middlecott in Eastbucland, which the said Richard Burton bought about 30 years since of Hugh Fortescue, esq., and John Fortescue his eldest son.

Gould = Joan of Charles co. Devon widow

Maclyne Gould who by deed dated 1 April 25 Eliza. had a lease with his two brothers from Hugh Fortescue of a close called the Middle Barton in Eastbucland, for their three lives	George Gould. On 30 May 14 Jac. I. he purchased his brother Maclyne's purparty in the lease, which he sold 25 Oct. 14 Jac. I. to Bartholomew Tossell	John Gould died before his brothers. Dead 14 Jac. I.

B$\frac{1}{49}$ Bill (12 Oct. 1631) of John Brooke of London, citizen and grocer.

Answer (19 Oct. 1631) of Henry Beale of St. Andrew's in Holborn, defendant.

Concerning the debts of defendant and his wife and their pawning of pieces of silver with compt.'s wife Elizabeth Brooke.

B$\frac{1}{50}$ Bill (3 Nov. 1631) of William Baker of Ewston, co. Suffolk, shepherd.

Answer (7 Nov. 1631) of Peter Beeke, of Wilbye, yeoman, defendant with William Salter, Thomas Wright and Robert Jeames.

Concerning the lease of a messuage and lands in Wilbye, co. Norfolk.

B$\frac{1}{51}$ Bill (29 Jan. 1629) of Joan Blachford, widow, late wife and admix. of Thomas Blachford of Dorchester, co. Dorset, merchant.

Answer (6 Apr. 1630) of Henry Henley of Leigh, co. Dorset, esquire, defendant with Thomas Brag.

Debts of Thomas Blachford, deceased. Richard Blachford his brother survived him.

B$\frac{1}{52}$ Bill (11 June 1631) of John Bellingham of Hackwood, co. Southampton, gent.

Answer (5 Oct. 1631) of Henry Nevill of Bathwick, co. Somerset, esquire.

Concerning a rent charge out of the manor of Bathwick, which was purchased of the defendant by Sir Edward Bellingham of Newtimber, co. Sussex, knight, and by the compt. about 7 Nov. 18 Jac. I. The defendant names Henry Bellingham, brother of the compt. He alleges that the purchase was with the money and for the use of Mrs. Gifford, sister of the compt., who was then, and yet remains, a recusant convict, and that he sought therefore of the compt. some security whereby he might be secured against any harm arising from the payments of the rent charge.

B$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{3}$ Answer (2 July 1631) of Selwyn Parker, esq., a defendant with Edward Parker to the bill of Robert Bowers and Elizabeth his wife.

Concerning the settlement of his estate made by Thomas Parker, esq., deceased, father of the defendant Selwyn, who is his heir. [The defendant Elizabeth is perhaps the relict of Thomas Parker.]

B$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{4}$ Bill (26 Nov. 1629) of Robert Blagden the younger of Keevill, co. Wilts, yeoman.

Answer (18 Nov. 1629) of Alexander Stratton, John Nicke and Michaell Titcomb, defendants with John Jorden.

Concerning a forfeited bond of John Jorden of Keevill, husbandman.

B$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{5}$ Bill (14 June 1629) of Anthony Berry, gent.

Answer (25 June 1629) of Richard Berry, M.D., dwelling in London, brother of the compt.

Concerning sums lent out by the compt. with the assistance of the defendant.

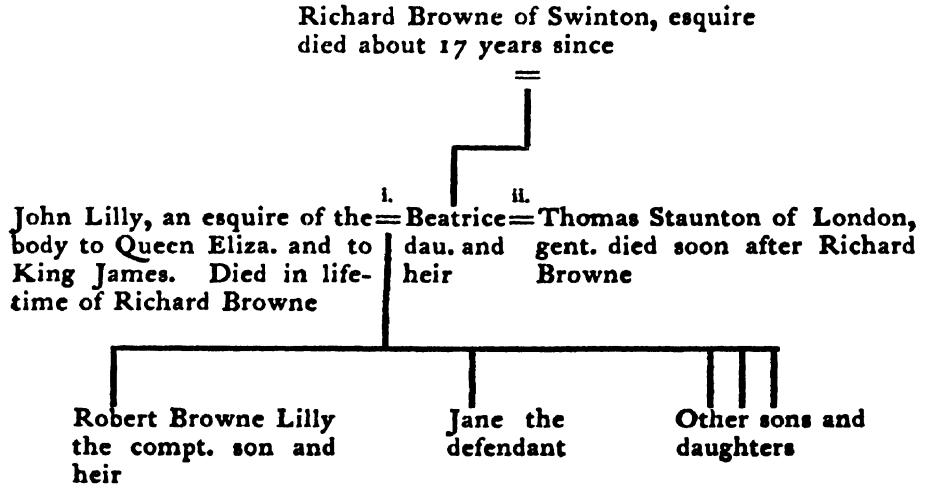
B$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{6}$ Answer (27 June 1646) of Dame Jane Wiche, a defendant to the bill of Henry Burnall.

Concerning a lease of a messuage made by Henry Forrest of Channell Row in Westminster to Sir Thomas Cecill, whereof the reversion came at Henry's death to his brother and heir Samuel Forrest. The right in the said term was conveyed to Sir Peter Wiche, whose relict and extrix is the defendant Jane. Nicholas Burnell is named as the father of the compt., and Grace Burnell as the compts. grandmother.

B$\frac{1}{5}\frac{1}{7}$ Bill (23 Oct. 1629) of Robert Browne Lilly of Chancery Lane, co. Middx., gent.

Answer (11 Jan. 1629) of Samuel Wortley (*alias* Burdett), gent., defendant with Beatrice Staunton and Jane Harleston.

Concerning the manor of Swinton with lands in Mexborough, co. York, whereof Richard Browne, esq., compt.'s grandfather, was seised, and concerning an alleged conveyance by the said Beatrice to the compt. of a rent charge. Eight years since the compt. was a prisoner in York Castle.



B$\frac{1}{58}$ Bill (10 Feb. 1629) of James Bois of Hooe, co. Sussex, yeoman.
Answer (11 April 1630) of Stephen Whoode and Katherine his wife, mother of the compt.

Concerning the estate of Ralph Bois, the compts. father, who died leaving by Katherine his wife one son the present complainant. Katherine remained with one Jôhn Knowles, whose admor. she was. The said Katherine is said by the compt. to have had 'severall other husbandes' after the death of Ralph Bois. She is said to have assigned a debt to the compt. in consideration of a gift of 'a new petticoate of stamell and a wastcoate.'

B$\frac{1}{59}$ Bill (11 June 1631) of Henry Bokenham of Great Thornham, co. Suffolk, knight.
Answer (6 Oct. 1631) of William Hewes of Bury St. Edmunds.

Concerning an ordinary kept by agreement of the compt., who was last year's sheriff of Suffolk, during the time of the assize.

B$\frac{1}{60}$ Bill (13 Nov. 1629) of William Bryard, admor. of Richard Malyn, decd., and Mary Bryard, relict and admix. of John Bryard of Poole, co. Dorset, merchant, deceased.
Answer (25 Jan. 1629) of Sir Maurice Abbot, kt., and others, the Governor and Company of East India Merchants.

Concerning the wages of Richard Malyn or Malym, who was a servant of the Company, and John Bryard was his creditor. He died about 13 Jan. 1627 and his widow Jane Malym refused administration.

B$\frac{1}{61}$ Answer (1 July 1645) of Robert Bromsall, defendant to the bill of John Bromsall.

Concerning the estate of the compts. father. The defendant denies a promise to pay the compt.'s guardians any indifferent allowance during the compt.'s minority.

B$\frac{1}{62}$ Replication () of Richard Balthroppe, gent., to the answer of Nicholas Luke, esquire, maintaining his bill of complaint.

B$\frac{1}{63}$ Replication () of John Bridges, to the answer of John Watson, maintaining his bill of complaint.

B$\frac{1}{64}$ Replication () of Elizabeth Bentham, widow, relict and extrix. of Thomas Bentham, to the answer of William Speed, maintaining her bill.

B$\frac{1}{65}$ Replication () of Nicholas Bowers to the answer of John Adcock.

Concerning two boxes which the defendant is alleged to have carried away from the compt.'s warehouse on 9 Dec. 1643, within an hour after he had deposited them there.

B$\frac{1}{66}$ Replication () of Thomas Butler to the answers of Anne Butler, widow, and Thomas Sibthorpe *alias* Bucher.

Concerning a legacy to the compt. under the will of Henry Butler, who upon the marriage of the compt. with Elizabeth, his now wife, promised to make a certain settlement of lands in Cranfeild and Litlington, co. Bedford. The defendant Anne is extrix. of the said Henry.

B$\frac{1}{6}\frac{1}{7}$ Replication () of Emmanuel Bourne, clerk, to the answers of John Reresbye, esq., Isaacke Scott, gent., and Christopher Bower, maintaining his bill.

B$\frac{1}{6}\frac{1}{8}$ Answer (16 June 1646) of Thomas Deereinge, gent., one of the defendants to the bill of Samuel Blackwell, Edward Spencer, John Humphreys, John Locke and David Hutton.

Concerning the voyage to 'Canady' of the ship *Jonas* of London. Christopher Potts is named as a defendant.

B$\frac{1}{6}\frac{1}{9}$ Replication () of Nicholas Burnhill to the answer of Samuel Forrest.

Concerning an annuity.

B$\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{0}$ Bill (1 June 1646) of John Ball the elder and John Ball the younger of Kingston on Thames, co. Surrey, gentlemen, 'now miserable prisoners in y^{e} Poultry Compter and y^{e} Kingsbench.'

Answer (16 June 1646) of Thomas Brandlinge and Obediah Weekes, and demurrer () of William Hopton and George Gildon, gentlemen.

Concerning the debts of the complainants.

B$\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{1}$ Bill (5 March 1645) of James Beaumont, citizen and whitbaker of London.

Answer (16 March 1645) of Sarah Hind, widow, and Dameris Beaumont, an infant of the age of fourteen years, by the said Sarah her guardian.

Concerning the will of Richard Beaumont of the Spittle, co. Middlesex, citizen and whitbaker of London, dated 18 July 1645, by which he gave certain messuages and lands in Thornell near Wakefield and in Lachingdon in Essex to the compt. his second son, and legacies to his daughter Sarah Hind the defendant, late wife of John Hind, citizen and leatherseller, deceased, and to his daughter Dameris Beaumont. The defendants say that the messuages and lands were held by knights service, and should descend to William Beaumont the son and heir of the testator.

B$\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{2}$ Bill (16 April 1646) of Thomas Blake the younger of Eastont, co. Southt., gent.

Answer (23 May 1646) of Edward Pyle, Robert Pyle, Robert Blake and Joan his wife and John Francis.

Concerning a debt of compt.'s father Thomas Blake to Edward Pyle of Over Wallop, gent., for which the compt. became bound about 2 May 18 Car. I. with John Treadgold of Woodhowse, yeoman. One William Blake is named, and also Arthur Blake the compt.'s uncle, brother of Robert the defendant.

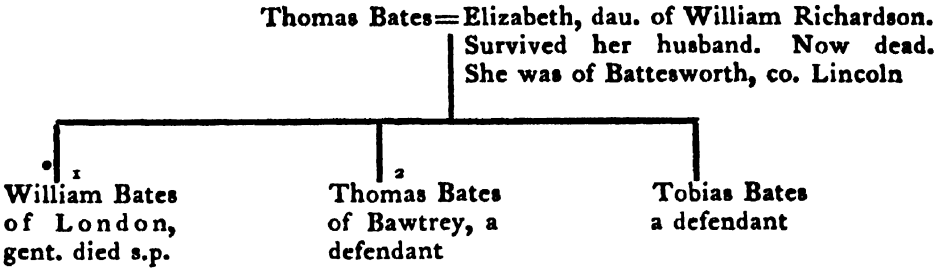
B$\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{3}$ Bill (11 May 1646) of Margaret Boniface of Walberton, co. Sussex, widow, relict of Thomas Boniface, for herself and for Mary Boniface, her daughter, an infant aged three years, the heir of the said Thomas.

Answer (25 May 1646) of Edward Boniface and Edmond Bredham and Jane his wife.

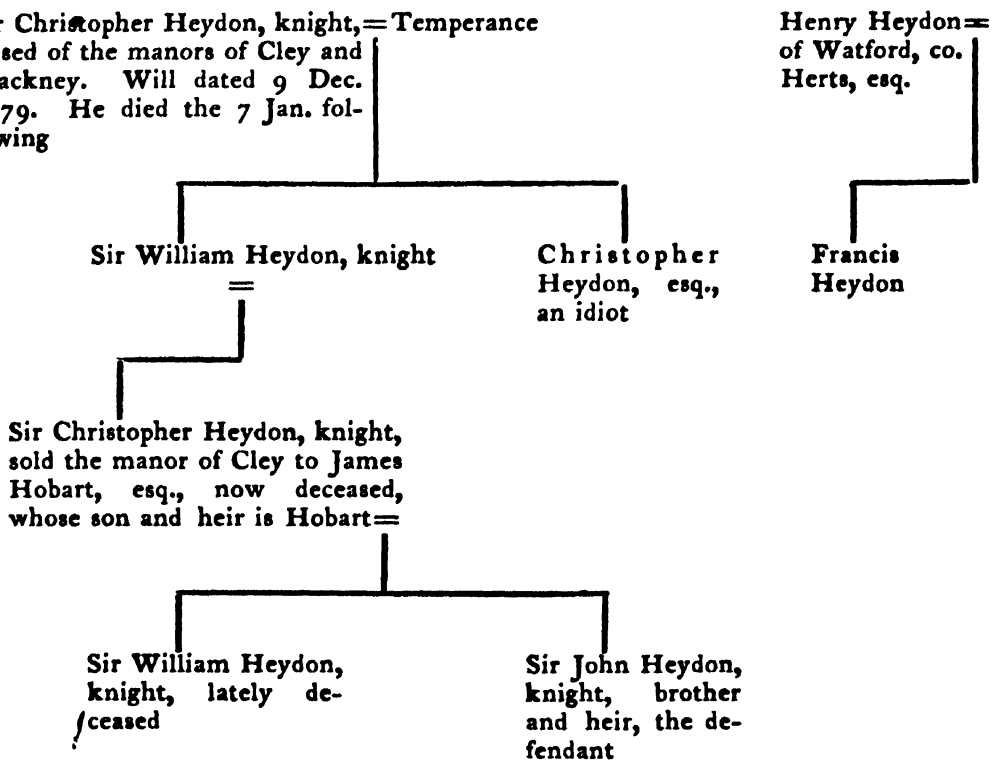
Concerning a lease of a messuage and land in Walberton and the estate of Thomas Boniface, deceased, who was brother of William Boniface and son of John Boniface of Walberton, yeoman.

B$\frac{1}{74}$ Bill (29 May 1646) of William Burges of Westminster, tailor.
Answer (10 June 1646) of Robert Kinaston of Westminster, poulter.
Concerning the lease of a cellar in Westminster.

B$\frac{1}{75}$ Bill (17 April 1646) of Susanna Briggs of Kingston upon Hull, relict and admix. of Miles Briggs of the same, merchant, deceased.
Answer (29 May 1646) of Thomas Bates, Richard Thomson and Tobias Bates.
Concerning a messuage in the high street of Kingston upon Hull, which the defendants allege to have been granted by Thomas Bates, father of the defendant Thomas, by his deed 1 June 34 Eliza. to William Richardson of Kingston, merchant, now deceased, to the use of Elizabeth Richardson, dau. of the said William, whom the said Thomas intended to marry, with remr. to the heirs of their bodies.



B$\frac{1}{76}$ Bill (27 June 1631) of Robert Beales of Cley next the sea, co. Norfolk (son of Robert Beales, deceased).
Answer (5 July 1631) of Sir John Heydon, kt., Christopher Parr and Richard Jones.
Concerning a rent out of the manors of Cley and Blackney, co. Norfolk.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN

SIR,—

The interesting and important article on this subject contributed by Sir George Sitwell will be supplemented, one may hope, by the notes of others, which will doubtless confirm his conclusions. A good early example of 'generosi' being used as denoting a class already distinguished from esquires is found in Dean Kitchin's 'Obedientiary Rolls of St. Swithun's, Winchester' (Hampshire Record Society). Mention is there made of a corrody, the recipient of which is to have bread, beer and candles, 'prout armigeri et generosi dicti Prioris habent' (p. 489). The date of this document is 1425. An earlier but less definite phrase is found in the will (1386) of Edmund Tettisworth, serjeant-at-arms, who bequeaths to the prior and convent of St. Mary Overy 100 marks to find board and clothing 'prout decet gentilem hominem' for his brother Thomas.[1] From these two examples it would seem that agreements for corrodies are likely to afford further illustration of the origin and development of 'gentlemen' as a class.

J. HORACE ROUND.

SIR,—

The definition of a gentleman is a thorny subject, like that of orthodoxy. There are so many points of view. 'I am a gentleman, I am!' protests the sodden loafer at the door of his favourite pub. 'It was another lady,' explained the historic hospital patient, when asked whose dog gave her that nasty bite. On the other hand there is the small boy at a very select preparatory school, who was heard to exclaim, with genuine feeling, 'What cads those lords are!' Conversely, we all know vulgarity means the behaviour of other people.

Is one a gentleman because he bears arms? Or does he bear arms because he is a gentleman? The question sounds a bit metaphysical, recalling *Ciceronianum illud*, whether *jus* was anterior to *lex*, or *lex* to *jus*. But when Sir George Sitwell,

[1] *Wykeham's Register* (Hampshire Record Society), p. 393.

scouting arms and heralds, requires the gentleman to be 'a freeman whose ancestors have always been free,' one asks in dismay, Who then can be saved? 'Always'! Even the Plantagenet Harrison descent from Woden is only in a female line. Some Welsh families trace their pedigree through kings without number, Brut the Trojan, and Noah, to Adam, which was the son of God. Others there may be among the ten tribes; or possibly in China. The rest of the world, king and beggar alike, must remain beyond the pale.

Those unhappy heralds — yet more unhappy in their champions, perhaps, than in their assailants. Now it is Sir George's turn to fling a stone at them. They may not be perfect, whether regarded as a judicial body, or as an academy of taste. But the kings, I understand, only purport to grant arms by virtue of delegated authority, conferred by their patents. That the royal prerogative extends so far is conceded. A certain power to control, here represented as a Tudor usurpation, seems to arise naturally out of their duty to register. Could you and I be appointed, sir, in place of Garter, to watch with jealous eyes the practice of differencing, and devise some appropriate and artistic coat for each approved applicant, all would be for the best. Otherwise to disestablish the college might make confusion worse confounded. Mr. Foster could do better than Sir Albert Woods: he hints as much. But consider the window heraldry displayed by suburban undertakers. Reflect upon the worthy and eminent shopkeepers who award to doughty knights, such as the late Sir Augustus Harris, the arms of some ancient family, or design armorial bookplates at prices exceeded only by the approbation of their patrons. Why even Mr. Fox-Davies, finding his occupation gone, might end by setting up shop on his own account.

On my table lies a genealogical work in which *Ivanhoe* is gravely quoted as an authority. The theory of four races forming four distinct social strata reads as if it had some such origin. Or is it allied to the notion which has led others to deduce statistics of population from Domesday? The actual lords of manors are not always named in that record. So few documents have we of the time that proof of such omissions can rarely be found; but they are perhaps more numerous than has been supposed. With the *liberi tenentes* as a class the survey is little concerned; some however there must have

been in every manor, and but a part of them can have been Normans. As to the serf Bishop Stubbs is perhaps the safer guide.

The happy fusion of races is perhaps one cause of a phenomenon upon which Sir George Sitwell dwells, namely the singular absence of class divisions in this country. Two others suggest themselves; but that subject must not be pursued now. The earl was merely a chosen baron, the baron a prominent knight, the knight and esquire wealthier freeholders. Technically the status of the villein was sharply distinguished from that of the free-tenant; but was there in fact any social barrier between them? The earliest court rolls I have seen show barons, knights and esquires buying up villein tenements. Had any social stigma attached to these in the fourteenth century, the investment would hardly have been attractive as a provision for younger children.

As society became more self-conscious, no doubt, need was felt for further classification. The earl was already marked by his hereditary dignity and his share of the *firma comitatus*, the knight by his investiture, the esquire by his statutory duty to arm himself *cap-à-pie*. To those knights deemed worthy of special summons to parliament the term baron came thus to be especially applied; while the lesser landowners were divided into gentlemen and yeomen. But between these two classes at no period has there been a clear dividing line; hence the difficulty of our definition. To describe the introduction of the new term as 'the rise of the gentry' seems to argue a certain confusion of thought. The pestilence, again, caused one family here and there to rise upon the wreck of another; but that is not to create a new class.

Who is then the gentleman? One cannot hail a cab and drive to Queen Victoria Street to discuss every new acquaintance, or even consult the latest handbook of Armorial Gents. If one did, in nine cases out of ten the result would be purely nugatory. For while Sir George Sitwell is so exclusive, the law of arms on the contrary embraces all legitimate male descendants of all who have ever lawfully borne arms in England. And this, it seems, is the official test. The notorious fact that such persons are now to be found in every position of life, from the highest to the lowest, has not deterred our Boanerges, Mr. 'X,' for

Fools rush in where angels fear to tread.

But a responsible herald is bound to allow the meanest crossing sweeper the benefit of the doubt, unless he be known for either an alien or a bastard. Very much to the point is the case of old Mr. Brassey, who could not write his own name, but wheeled his barrow on the works and totted up the dibs on his five fingers to so much purpose that he was able to place a cool million at the disposal of his old partner at a pinch, without security. The college satisfied itself of his lineage, and acknowledged him a gentleman *jure sanguinis*. Some of us may opine that he had an even better title to show.

There seems to be authority for styling certain members of the royal household gentlemen; also subaltern officers of either service (but what of the civil service?); also solicitors and attorneys, and possibly some others. Does the distinction descend to their children? My solicitor adds that it is usual so to describe any person who lives comfortably upon his private means; a retired publican for example. What becomes of the retired gentleman he cannot tell me, and I have never met with one, except in the columns of a newspaper.

Outside these somewhat narrow limits, what is our criterion to be? Is it birth? The bluest blood flows in the veins of peasants and labourers. Is it wealth? Then Sir Gorgius Midas and the late Mr. Barnato are our models. Is it landed property? Then the duke's younger son, with his portion in consols, must give place to the distributor of unconsidered trifles with a pound of tea. Is it dress, manners, education? The retail shopkeeper may shine in all of these; yet modern snobbishness will affect to exclude him. What of the detrimental lordling, who goes to the bad, and swindles his friends and relations? What of the country squire with the speech, appearance, and manners of a chawbacon, the shady captain living by his wits, the solicitor who has been struck off the rolls? What again of the factory lad who becomes an intrepid explorer and missionary, the carpenter's son who rises to high honours in the church, the butcher's boy who closes his career a wealthy captain of industry and a genial and widely respected justice of the peace? What of the ploughman who leaves behind him a deathless name in the literature of his country, or the miner who, from the management of his comrades' savings, is promoted to play a weighty part in the great council of the nation?

The truth is that we, in this country, have long contrived

to harmonize aristocratic forms with democratic sentiments. *La carrière ouverte aux talents*—that is the key to English society. What has brought about this happy result I cannot now discuss; but among us a man is not judged in the long run by what he wears, or what he has, but by what he is, or perhaps even more by the company he keeps. Each has to find his own level as he may. Suppose three men, starting from the same humble sphere, all win success in life, and all by creditable means. One will nevertheless end his days among his original surroundings, envied or admired as a warm man by his neighbours, the oracle of his little circle, a triton among the minnows. A second will elbow his way into a society where he is never at home—tolerated, but not accepted. The third will easily and naturally fit into a new position, without question or remark, as by inevitable ordinance of fate. And so it has ever been. Centuries back we find one man styled a husbandman, another a yeoman, a third a gentleman. We look in vain for some distinguishing mark, in birth, in property, or what not. There was no material distinction; each was classed according to the position he succeeded in asserting for himself, or more often by the common consent of his neighbours.

For my part, despite my shabby coat, my plebeian origin, and all my other disabilities, I can afford to regard these questions with calm superiority. Am I not, upon good medieval precedent, entitled to the style of knights and barons? *Postulo librum.* I claim benefit of clergy; and subscribe myself,

Sir, your most humble servant,

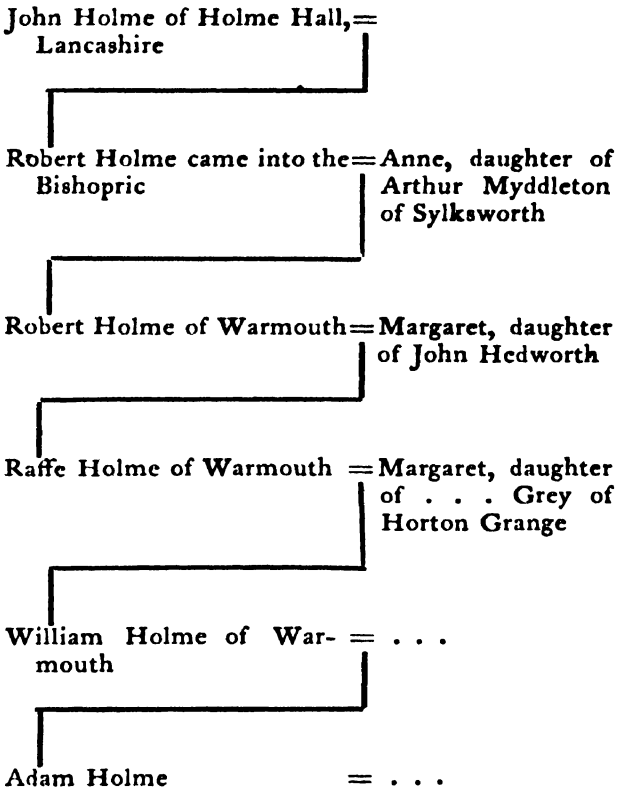
A LEARNED CLERK.

THE HOLMES OF WEARMOUTH

SIR,—

Surtees' *History of the County Palatine* contains some account of the genealogy of the family of Holme of Bishop Wearmouth, and of the marriages of the Holmes with members of several well-known Durham families, the earliest Holme mentioned being Adam Holme, whose daughter Frances was married to Robert Goodchild of Pallion in 1608.

Harleian MS. 1540 (45) gives the following pedigree of Adam Holme :



This pedigree seems to have been unknown to Mr. Surtees. I should be glad to know whether any records exist of the precise parentage of Anne Myddleton and Margaret Grey, and of the marriages of William Holme and Adam Holme.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

TEMPLAR.

EDITORIAL NOTES

IN the course of the article upon 'Heraldry Revived' in the last issue of *The Ancestor* comment was made upon the rare appearance in early heraldry of the lions looking backward, a position which modern blazonry terms 'regardant.' The word did not carry this meaning in the middle ages, never being applied in this sense even by the heralds of the early Tudor period. The arms of the principality of North Wales were instanced as being possibly the earliest example of lions looking backward. The seal for the principality used by our kings from Henry IV. to Henry VII. bears the three lions passant, carrying themselves in such wise that skulking must be the only epithet for them as they crawl with their tails lashing between their legs and their eyes glancing uneasily behind them, no doubt at the three conquering leopards of the English. But as it seems hard to find authority for this shield beyond the time of Henry IV. a St. Quintin coat may perhaps be an earlier instance of a lion in this uncertain mood. The roll known as 'Jenyns' Ordinary,' the coats in which are mainly those of the reign of Edward III., has this blazon for Monsire Hubert Seint Quintin—*dargent a une leon rere regardant de sable* (*autrement de purpre*). This is especially valuable as giving us the simple blazon which might be looked for in an early roll—silver with a lion looking backward of sable.

* * *

With Westminster Abbey in the hands of the upholsterer many delays have been encountered in setting about our work of picturing and describing the ancient heraldry of the place. Our first instalment of the work will include all those shields in the aisles of the nave which may be reckoned amongst the most venerable and important monuments of early heraldry in Europe. It has been found that photography is all but impossible in the cramped space and indifferent light of the place, and therefore arrangements have been made for plaster casts to be taken of the whole series, from which the first perfect pictures of these shields will be made. In view of this delay our readers are offered in this issue of *The Ancestor* pictures of the

shields round the famous tomb of Edmund of Langley at King's Langley church.

* * *

We commend to the notice of our genealogist readers the great and rapid progress which Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore has made with his many schemes for the transcription and printing of parish registers in many counties. No one who has considered the present position of these priceless records will doubt that their home and housing should be either in London under the care of the Master of the Rolls or in the county towns in well ordered district record offices. Till the better days come the antiquary can occupy himself in no more useful task than in assisting Mr. Phillimore to transcribe and print the scattered books.

* * *

In this matter we are unable to agree with many of Mr. Phillimore's critics. He gives twice who gives quickly. Mr. Phillimore's system of printing cheap and clearly arranged abstracts of all marriage entries has already put in our hands the clue to much obscure genealogy in Cornwall, Gloucestershire, Nottinghamshire, Norfolk, Somerset, Worcestershire, Bucks and Hampshire. Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Berks are also in progress.

* * *

We desire especially to call attention to Mr. Phillimore's work in London. The series of county marriage registers are for the buying of the county antiquary, or for the antiquary with a long purse and a wide range of interest. But London parish registers appeal to every pedigree maker, and we regret to learn that here Mr. Phillimore has had little support or encouragement. Yet from such a register as is contained in his four thick volumes of marriages at St. James's in Duke's Place almost every pedigree in the country might gain annotations.

* * *

The *Northern Genealogist* under the direction of Mr. A. Gibbons, F.S.A., should see every northern pedigree maker upon its subscription list, and the more so for its refusal to allow itself to degenerate into a Notes and Queries of the familiar type, interesting to the 'general reader' and useless to the antiquary. Its abstracts of heriot entries from the

ancient manor rolls of Wakefield, York Marriage Bonds and Lincoln Marriage Licences may be instanced as examples of useful record work. Mr. W. Greenwood in a paper upon the Redmaynes of Levens does much to disentangle the history of a family famous in border warfare, and wisely refrains from too great sureness in his identification of the several Matthew Redmaynes.

* * *

Our pedigree of Tryon, given in this issue of *The Ancestor*, suggests that the many descendants in England of families from Holland and the Low Countries may be glad to be reminded of the good work which is being done in the new series of the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Familieblad*, a Dutch journal of genealogy of which we acknowledge the receipt from its conductors. The mass and detail of Dutch family records and municipal archives make the study and practice of genealogy popular in Holland, and Englishmen of Dutch stock will have cause for gratitude to the *Familieblad* if future numbers maintain its present standard.

* * *

In our next issue we shall continue the series of notices of families which may claim a descent from ancestors known in the twelfth century. In all probability the next instalment of this 'Libro d'oro' will deal with the houses of Carteret and Shirley. With Shirley indeed we might have fittingly begun, for the idea of the series had its beginning in the late Mr. Shirley's famous list of English landed houses which could show a pedigree through landed ancestors as far as the fifteenth century.

* * *

Our illustrations of armour and weapons will be carried on with pictures of a number of helmets accompanying an article by Mr. T. G. Neville, F.S.A., on the gradual evolution of the cockscombed helmet.

* * *

Arrangements have been made by us for the reproduction of a book of arms which shall afford ample illustration of the heraldic art of the fifteenth century, and a portion of this roll, with a critical description of its contents, will appear in our third quarterly volume.

The harmless antiquary has long been an acceptable butt for the novelist, and never a quill has been splintered in his defence. The third number of *The Ancestor* will enter upon the quarrel, and in an article on 'The Novelist and the Antiquary' will attempt to show with what little judgment the school of historical novelists help themselves from the antiquary's heap of laboriously gathered trifles.

* * *

The many letters and notices which have followed upon *The Ancestor's* plea for a return to a simpler and more reasonable system of blazonry show that in this movement we have the sympathy of the antiquary and the scholar. On the other hand a writer in the *Ex Libris Journal*, for copies of which we have to thank Messrs. A. & C. Black the publishers, must be quoted as showing how far afield misunderstanding may stray. It may be remembered that the whole force of our article went to show that the iron laws of blazonry as laid down in the heraldry books had neither common sense nor ancient prescription to back them, and that heraldry, a medieval art and science, must be studied in its medieval examples. This being so, Mr. W. Cecil Wade, author of *Symbolisms of Heraldry*, a work which we had not had the advantage of studying, is unjust as he is merciless when he attacks and instructs the author of our article in this wise:

> He seems to forget that this is a romantic subject, and will always be bound up with the chivalry and poetry of the past, and that its old legends, quaint wording and drawing, invest it with a glamour which would inevitably vanish should this study develop into a fixed science with millimetre rules, microscopical limitations and granite-faced definitions. Heraldry must be taken as a whole, as a simple but mediæval relic. It will never be separable from the pageantry of ancient symbolism, and it never will possess that matter of fact regularity and method that Mr. Barron seems to require of it.

Here the galled jade may wince, but *The Ancestor* is unmoved. Mr. Wade having set up his scarecrow is at liberty to thrash it at his will. The 'millimetre rules, microscopical limitations and granite-faced definitions' were but spoken of in *The Ancestor* article as food for the great dustbin. Such cuckoo's eggs are not to be hatched in *The Ancestor*'s nest. Rules, limitations and definitions all come from 'the best of old heraldic authorities,' as Mr. Wade styles Edmondson, Dallaway and Brydson, and their earlier fellows, authorities whom Mr. Wade gravely recommends to

misguided Mr. Barron, if he would seek 'to seriously acquire [*sic*] a knowledge of the true spirit and practice of heraldry.' Edmondson and Dallaway digested, Mr. Wade would have Mr. Barron carry his studies as far as Miss Ellen J. Millington, possibly a better old heraldic authority, whose book, 'published about fifty years ago, also abounds in useful information, coupled with poetic references to the ancient science.'

* * *

To Mr. W. Cecil Wade it is an offence that Mr. Barron should have 'gone out of his way to disparage the excellent modern works of Boutell, Cussans and of other modern writers on heraldry.' But if Mr. Wade will allow us to attach to his words a 'granite-faced' definitiveness of meaning, he is wrong to say that Mr. Barron 'went out of his way' to do this. On the contrary, Mr. Boutell's ridiculous handbook of heraldry stood full in the way of an article aimed at the 'excellent modern work' of Mr. Boutell and his kind. That 'excellent modern work' was disparaged as the petty pedantry of writers whose scholarship was insufficient for their task, whose foolish little books are traps for the uncritical student. As Mr. Barron's argument remains untraversed by Mr. Wade, it is a fruitless begging of the question to speak of Mr. Boutell's as 'excellent modern work.' Loyalty to fallen Humpty-Dumpty does not help to set him up again on his bookshelf.

* * *

A touch of Mr. Wade's own quality as critic is afforded us by his agreement with Mr. Barron's 'attack on Planché, who was such an ardent advocate of the punning origin of heraldry.' A reference to Mr. Barron's article will show that Planché, so far from suffering attack, was given his due place as a pioneer of heraldry research; but what would Mr. Wade have us understand by his agreement with this fancied attack. Neither Mr. Planché nor any other writer we have met with makes heraldry have its origin in a crackle of puns. Nevertheless, Mr. Planché, in common with every one who has an elementary knowledge of early heraldry, points out that a round number of blazons are based upon words which play upon the bearer's name. This being no theory, but accepted fact, there is no controversy, and therefore no 'ardent advocacy' about this point. If Mr. Wade, in his character of author of the *Symbolisms of Heraldry*, does not agree with Mr. Planché, so

much the worse for Mr. Wade, and our desire to make ourselves acquainted with the *Symbolisms of Heraldry* suffers abatement, if indeed Mr. Wade's last paragraph does not quench it outright. For he tells us that when the student, having mastered his Dallaways and his Edmondsons, has been informed by Miss Ellen J. Millington's 'poetic references,' and has added to his library a certain treatise on Scottish heraldic antiquities and a heraldic engraver's work on 'Decorative Heraldry,' he will have 'a clear view of nearly all that is worth preserving in heraldry.'

* * *

If that be Mr. Wade's message we may leave him to the heraldry of his 'old legends'—we know those old legends—the heraldry of 'glamour,' of 'quaintness,' of 'poetic references,' the 'simple but medieval relic' of the medievalism of the Castle of Otranto. And we do not want to read the *Symbolisms of Heraldry*.

* * *

Of the special appointments for the Coronation none was of more interest, at least for the readers of *The Ancestor*, than that of the standard bearers for the three realms. There had been a desire in several quarters to claim an hereditary right to bear the royal standard of England, but no claim could be successfully advanced, and that of a person styling himself 'Lord de Morley' was promptly dismissed by the Court of Claims. It was by a singularly happy thought that the coveted honour was bestowed on the king's champion, Mr. Dymoke. The function discharged by his family since the days of Richard II. being now obsolescent, it is pleasant to see the old name so prominently and appropriately connected with the coronation ceremony.

* * *

Scotland had its own 'battle of the standard,' which was fought out with much stubborness before the Court of Claims. Mr. Wedderburn, K.C., who championed the cause of his kinsman, was successful on behalf of Mr. Scrymgeour Wedderburn against Lord Lauderdale; but we believe that the last has not been heard of this standing controversy. Allusion was made by Mr. Wedderburn before the Court to the gaining of this hereditary distinction by the Scrymgeours in battle, an event traditionally assigned to 'the first year of

the reign of Alexander I.' (1107–8). Our authority for this date is *Burke's Landed Gentry.*

* * *

Students of heraldry may be interested to learn from the same source how the feat of arms by which this hereditary honour was won was commemorated in those early days. The gallant ancestor, we read, 'seizing the standard from Bannerman'—who must have been looking for Campbell—'crossed the Spey, and placed it on the other side of the river in sight of the rebels.' For this he was made hereditary standard bearer, received a grant of lands together with 'the name of Skirmisher or Scrymgeour, signifying a hardy fighter,' and was given 'a part of the royal arms of Scotland for his armorial bearing, viz., gu. a lion rampant arg. holding in his dexter paw a crooked sword pp. and the word "Dissipate" for his motto.' The arms of Scotland, be it remarked in parenthesis, contain no field of gules, no lion 'argent,' and no crooked sword, and the motto of Scotland is not 'Dissipate'—far from it. In any case this elaborate development of heraldry at so very early a date is probably little known, nor would it have been suspected that such mottoes as 'Towton' and 'Agincourt' had so ancient a predecessor. What the grantee did with it is unfortunately not recorded, but it was doubtless inserted in the next edition of *The Landed Gentry.*

* * *

The standard of Ireland was assigned to 'the Rt. Hon. O'Conor Don.' This is one of those Irish titles which are somewhat of a mystery to the slow-witted Saxon. The family, we believe, is of great antiquity, though the pedigree is not carried back in *Burke's Landed Gentry* further than A.D. 366 or thereabouts. We have always found it difficult to understand how Irish native titles, which were bound up with Tanistry, can be claimed under the English law of primogeniture by which Tanistry was finally abolished. But ours, as we have said, is a slow-witted people.

* * *

In any case it is a welcome and interesting innovation to find all the three standards assigned to commoners of old family and not to peers. Another innovation of similar character is the invitation to several baronets of the original creation, among whom, as is well known, are the bearers of

ancient names. It is fitting that at so historic a ceremony as the coronation of our kings such names should not be excluded by those of the modern nobility even when of English blood.

* * *

There are at present several peerage cases before the House of Lords, and some of them involve interesting questions. It is claimed on behalf of Lord Mowbray and Stourton that the earldom of Norfolk held by Thomas 'of Brotherton'—eldest son, by his second marriage, of Edward I.—is now in abeyance between himself and Lord Petre, as representing its elder co-heir, and the Baroness Berkeley, as representing the younger one. This claim is opposed by the Duke of Norfolk as holder in tail male of an earldom of Norfolk created in 1644. It will be argued on his behalf that the doctrine of abeyance does not apply to earldoms, and the decision of the Committee for Privileges on the point will be awaited with some interest.

* * *

The claims to the baronies of Fauconberg, Darcy (de Knayth) and Meinill will also raise some important points as to the necessity of proving sittings under writs and the nature of the proof required, and as to the necessity also of proving the pedigrees of all the co-heirs to a barony by writ. The claimants are the Countesses of Yarborough and of Powis, daughters of the late Lord Conyers, and they have petitioned that the abeyance of one of the above baronies may be determined in favour of Lady Powis, and of the other two in favour of Lady Yarborough, who is already Baroness Conyers in her own right.

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

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THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

The VICTORIA HISTORY is a National Historic Survey compiled under the direction of a large staff comprising the foremost students in science, history and archæology, and is designed to record the history of every county of England in detail.

This work was approved by our late Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, who graciously gave it her own name.

It is the endeavour of those who are associated in compiling the VICTORIA HISTORY to treat it as a scientific undertaking and to embody in it all that modern scholarship can contribute. And it is believed that the system of co-operation between experts and local students, which is the fundamental principle of the whole work, will give to the History a completeness and definite authority hitherto lacking in similar undertakings. His Majesty's Government, in recognition of the educational and statistical value of the History, has placed all the Goyernment publications freely at the disposal of the editorial staff.

The VICTORIA HISTORY as projected comprises 160 large volumes, and already numbers many hundreds of selected contributors to its pages in all parts of the country. The price of the complete set of 160 Volumes is £252 net. There are also forty supplementary Volumes of Genealogy—one for each county—containing the pedigrees of all families that have been possessed of a seat and an estate in the male line since the first year of George III. These Volumes are issued at £5 5*s.* net each.

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A POPULAR ACCOUNT OF THE VICTORIA HISTORY

WHEN this great series of the County Histories was first planned the approval of our late Sovereign Lady was sought and gained, the Queen became patroness of the work, watching its growth with interest and giving it her own name as the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. By her orders a set of the whole series was to be reserved for the royal library at Windsor, and to her memory the work is inscribed in the hope that it may prove a worthy memorial of her illustrious reign.

That reign saw the beginning of many great literary enterprises whose monumental scale sets them amongst national achievements. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, whose additional volumes are closing with the biography of the great Queen, is a work of which no nation has seen the fellow; and the *English Dictionary*, now midway in its labours, stands a tall head and shoulders above the nearest of its foreign rivals.

But vast as these undertakings may be the *Victoria History* competes with them in friendly rivalry. Its bulk is the least of its claims, but the fires of Peking, which burned the sole perfect copy of the half-mythical Chinese Encyclopædia, have made an end of the one book which could compare with it in size. The complete History itself marshals a hundred and sixty volumes, and to these are added the supplementary volumes containing the pedigrees of the county families, so that it will be seen that it is almost a library in itself for those who desire the complete series, rather than a book which is in the course of making.

Such a neglected study has been the history of our own towns and fields that it may be well that the public should learn what county history should be. And yet from the seventeenth century to the earlier years of the century now gone by many score tall folios and fat quartos of county history came through the press, among the most noteworthy being those of *Surrey* by Manning and Bray, Eyton's *Shropshire*, Nichols' *Leicestershire*, Hutchins' *Dorsetshire*, and Blomfield's *Norfolk*. As a rule however, for all but the determined antiquary or grubber of pedigrees, the county history of the past has been for the most part too dull for general perusal. Still, old and new, county histories have one

quality in common, that their buyer acquires a sound property upon a rising market. In the words of *The Times* describing the *Victoria History*—

'Everybody knows what sort of a book was the normal old-fashioned county history. It was commonly the work of one man, laborious in the extreme, praiseworthy, decorous and dull. It ran to three or four immense volumes, with steel plates of churches and gentlemen's seats, good maps according to the lights of those days, and a good index. Sometimes, as in a few of the Yorkshire histories, a factitious value was lent to the books by the drawings specially made by Turner, which soared as high above reality as the prose of the author sank below it. But the real fault of the county history of this type was that the local aspect of things was not presented in its proper relation to the history of the country as a whole. The spirit in which the book was written was too commonly the spirit of the topographer. Every local unit remained a unit; the writer, as a rule, had his county or his township so much before his eyes that he paid no attention to the wider aspects of the national life. Nor was it possible that the idea of development, which is the root idea of the modern historian, could take any great place in the older local histories. Probably many excellent local historians of to-day would be guilty of the same faults if they were left to do their work alone; but the organization of the *Victoria History* is such as to prevent this.

What County History may be, in the hands of no one man, but in the hands of a national company of scholars, the *Victoria County History* sets forth to prove. That the story it has to tell should be dull is heresy for an Englishman to believe; that it is, as a fact, far from being dull, a glance at the volumes of the *Victoria History* already published will convince the greatest sceptic.'

Nowadays we are a restless people, ever on the move, for the most part regarding a seven years' lease as chaining us unduly to a house. Many a man does not know the very name of his great-grandfather, and whence that remote ancestor may have come is as obscure as the origin of the Aryans. Having no tie of place or blood such a man may reasonably contend that the discovery of his own pedigree, though it were for thirty generations back, would move him no more than any other string of names. Yet could we present before him that pedigree in flesh and blood—could he see his grandfather in high stock and hessians, his great-grandfather in powdered hair and top-boots, his great-great-grandfather in ruffled cuffs, bob-wig and three-cornered hat, and even the first of his name—franklin, yeoman, or Piers the Plow-

man, surely, the liveliest interest and the most human would be awakened as he saw pass before him these forefathers in their habit as they lived, as when the spark of his own life was in their breasts.

So then with our histories. A man's interest in his land, in his native county, in the corner of England which chance has brought him to dwell in may be all too sound asleep to be awakened by a pedant's string of names and dates, but it is there to awaken when the past story of town and field is brought to him as a living thing coloured in all its strange and many hues.

To know how and in what manner his crowded city grew up from a line of straggling cottages round some industry reckoned a little thing in its beginning, how his county town, dozing through a week broken only by the rustic chatter of market day, was once a point towards which the merchants from far countries came with bales of outlandish merchandise along the packhorse roads—this where a half-dozen farmers' traps come in our day—this is surely knowledge which is good company for a man to carry with him in his daily round.

This land, now sheep pasture, was open sea in days of which County History will tell us, and on the hillside far inland are stones which were a quay to which Roman galleys were moored. This high country dotted with villas, was the great forest in whose secret places the strange rites of wood-devils were celebrated. This cornland was marsh and mere, the home of pike and waterfowl, and where the mound is at the village end was a castle with inner and outer bailey, keep and drawbridge, the nest of an evil man of foreign speech who oppressed the stubborn English until in full stream of fortune he broke himself against the king's power, a clay pot against a brass pot. Where the duke's towers are to-day there was once a charcoal burner's hut, and where Hodge has his thatched cottage on the down a great Roman proconsul had his villa with its libraries, its baths and hypocausts, its hall with seagods in tesseræ colouring the floor and the loves of Apollo upon the painted walls.

Such a story as this might be dull in the telling, but the *Victoria County History* relies upon no one man's pen, and it is not too much to say that no such body of scholars and specialists has ever been mustered before for a national work.

After what fashion the *Victoria History* will follow its task may be estimated when we consider the roll of distinguished men who are at work for it.

The history of each county begins with its geology. The story of the formations which have become England are told by the members of His Majesty's Geological Survey.

The description of English flora and fauna are exhaustive and accurate. From the forests of the coal period to the weeds last arrived in our hedgerows, from the mammoth to the brown rat which lately drove out our native black rat, our birds, beasts, fishes and insects, herbs and forest trees find describers amongst a group of editors including every name of the first rank amongst students of Natural History.

Coming at last to man and his work, Mr. Boyd Dawkins, the well known author of *Early Man in Britain*, is the general editor of those chapters of the history which deal with the history of man in our island in the remote days before the coming of Romans or Anglo-Saxons.

England can never forget that she was once a province under the Roman power, for over the country still runs the network of roads which grew up in the wake of the Roman eagles, the Roman tile is in most of our ancient walls, and some fragment of toy or tool from Roman hands is turned wherever the ploughshare runs. Great care therefore has been spent upon the section of the history relating to Roman England, which is directed and edited by Mr. Haverfield, whose name stands for the archæology of Roman England amongst antiquaries all over the world.

Anglo-Saxon remains are dealt with by Mr. C. Hercules Read, of the department of Antiquities at the British Museum, and by his assistant, Mr. Reginald Smith.

Ethnography is in the hands of Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, well known by his work for the Folk-lore Society; and the dialects, so fast disappearing before the face of the School Board, are treated of by Mr. Joseph Wright, the Editor of the Great Dictionary of the English dialects.

There are those for whom English history begins with King William the Conqueror and Domesday Book. The smatterer in antiquities is wont to nourish a belief that Domesday Book is a record easily to be construed although a trifle dull withal; the more advanced antiquary or historian knows Domesday Book for a maze of puzzles and pitfalls, but a record which has not its fellow in the deep interest it holds for English people. Amongst the names of the skilled interpreters of Domesday Book that of Mr. Horace Round stands eminent, and from his hand come the articles upon Domesday Book and its kindred records which will appear in each of the Histories.

In no point will the *Victoria Histories* contrast more notably with the histories that came before them than in the care with which the story of our national buildings is set forth. The history and description of castles and houses, walled towns, cathedrals, abbeys and churches is

under the supervision of a large committee of students of architectural history from Mr. George Fox, who speaks with authority of the Roman work, to Mr. Gotch, whose name is so familiar by reason of his brilliant studies upon the English Renaissance in architecture.

Mr. St. John Hope, whose researches into ancient architecture have left little untouched from the beehive hut to Sir Christopher's dome, edits the section dealing with the cathedrals and monastic remains, and directs the making of the coloured ground plans which show the growth and architectural history of the greater buildings.

Mr. A. F. Leach edits the history of the English public schools and grammar schools. Where counties have a seaboard Professor J. K. Laughton edits their history so far as it relates to the story of our fleets.

The history of the feudal baronage, of the Nevills, Mortimers, fitzAlans, Bohuns, and their fellows, is in the hands of Mr. Horace Round and Mr. Oswald Barron.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort is editor-in-chief of the articles on Sport.

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The greater part of the volumes of each county will contain the history of the English parishes, the sum of which is the history of the county. The parish and its beginnings, its church and its memorials, the story of its manors and of their lords, of its ancient and interesting buildings, the story of that change in the face of things which once so slow seems in our day to be hurrying the land towards a time when England will be an island town inlaid with market gardens. For this, the most important share of our work, the *Victoria History* has the help of nearly every English historian or antiquary, and in its pages will be found the results of many men's lifework of scholarly labour and research. Yet it is not upon such collections alone that the parish histories are based. The vast records of the nation—records which for bulk and interest excel those of all other peoples—are being systematically searched by a staff of skilled workers, assisted by a Records Committee headed by the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records and the Director of the British Museum.

Illustrations are bestowed plentifully upon the history: illustrations of Roman and Anglo-Saxon remains, of castles and manor houses, of cathedrals and churches, and of the fast-perishing beauties of English house and cottage architecture. Illustrations of famous monuments, Roman pavements, brasses and coloured glass have their place, and ancient pictures of the towns and countryside stand in contrast with photogravures and mezzotints from the hundred and sixty paintings of

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There is an abundance of good maps, from the geological and botanical maps and the maps which illustrate Domesday Book, to Speed's wonderful maps published in 1610 and the maps of the modern surveyors.

In an additional volume are added to each county history elaborately drawn pedigrees with many portraits of those county families, titled and untitled, who have held a seat and landed estate in their male line since 1760, the first year of the reign of George III., the reign which saw the beginning of the modern period of change.

At a price and under conditions of purchase which allow the history of his own county to find a place on the bookshelf of every Englishman who buys books, and to set the whole work within reach of the least endowed of provincial public libraries, the *Victoria History* cannot fail, owing to its wide interests and deep educational value, to take its place amongst the greatest of the familiar and trusted books of reference.

Such a work as the *Victoria History* may be amplified in detail; indeed it is hoped that the great work will be the fruitful mother of much local archæological study. But the vastness of its conception and the accuracy of its detail will make it stand whilst black ink and sound rag-paper endure, a national record and a landmark in our history.

Full detailed prospectuses of each county as issued may be had on application to booksellers or to the Publishers, Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 2 Whitehall Gardens, Westminster. Specimen volumes will be sent on approval to be viewed at any bookseller's in town or country.

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